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THE

LIFE OF HANDEL.

THE

LIFE OF HANDEL,

BY

VICTOR SCHŒLCHER.

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The following Work, having been originally written by me in French, has received its English dress from Mr. James Lowe. As this gentleman and I have been in constant communication during its preparation for the press, I can testify to the perfect exactness with which his language renders my intention.

VICTOR SCHŒLCHER.

5th April, 1857.

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ERRATA.

Page xix, line 1 of note, *for* "Quint," *read* "Quin."
,, xix, ,, 6 of note, *for* "than thirty," *read* "than sixteen."
,, 5, ,, 19, *for* "Sachau or Zackau," *read* Zachau."
,, 10, ,, 4, *for* "Kaiser," *read* "Keiser," there, and everywhere, where the name occurs.
,, 14, ,, 1 of note, *after* "remained at Hamburg," *add* "four or five years."
,, 16, ,, 1, *for* "Gio grida," *read* "Già grida."
,, 19, ,, 31, *for* "when even duets," *read* "when even scenic duets."
,, 19, ,, 2 of note, *for* "in 1734," *read* "in 1733."
,, 31, ,, 5 of note, *after* "to operas." *add* "Burney speaks of *Judith* an oratorio by Handel, performed also at Hamburg, in 1732 *Judith* was not an oratorio, but his opera of *Lothario*, given under a female name."
,, 39, ,, 4, *omit* "immediately on his arrival."
,, 45, ,, 4, *for* "is very generally attributed to," *read* "is written by."
,, 45, ,, 5 of note, *for* "1786," *read* "1686."
,, 47, ,, 3 and 5, *for* "que si replica," *read* "quì si replica."
,, 54, ,, 14, *for* "Ariosti Attilio," *read* "Attilio Ariosti, generally called Attilio."
,, 65, ,, 35, *after* "being reprinted," *add* "we have forty-one separate editions of it, and there are at our knowledge forty-five."
,, 67, ,, 9, *for* "all biographers," *read* "almost all biographers."
,, 75, ,, 2 of note, *for* "and this, etc.," *read* "they were published 1750. The first known publication of this superb English national anthem, is in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *October*, 1745, where it is entitled: 'A song for two voices, as sung at both playhouses.'"
,, 85, ,, 6, "About this time also, etc." We have been wrong in attributing to the directors of the Italian Opera the ridottos here mentioned. They were given by Heidegger, the lessee of the theatre, and the Royal Academy of Music had nothing to do with them.
,, 94, ,, 31, *for* "*Esther* offers," *read* "there are copies of *Esther* which offer."
,, 96, ,, 8, *omit from* "one would certainly," *to* "some where else."
,, 105, ,, 27, *for* "20th of May," *read* "20th of April."
,, 114, ,, 15, *for* "by chains," *read* "by thin wooden rods."
,, 116, ,, 2 of note, *for* "the brother of," *read* "the son of."
,, 124, ,, 5, *for* "viola marina," *read* "violetta marina."
,, 135, ,, 3 of note, *omit* "ninth."
,, 136, ,, 2, *omit* "for it was a recent invention."
,, 147, ,, 24, *for* "*Sosarme*," *read* "*Susanna*."
,, 156, at the head of the chapter, *for* "1734," *read* "1733—1737."

Page 172, line 23, *for* "he took Covent Garden Theatre," *read* "he gave his performances twice a week at Covent Garden Theatre."
,, 177, ,, 4 of note, *for* "composed for Handel, etc ," *read* "compiled for Handel the words of the *Messiah*, and composed those of *Belshazzar*, etc."
,, 197, ,, 1 of note, *for* "Roubilliac," *read* "Roubiliac."
,, 206, ,, 14, *omit* "where they still remain unpublished."
,, 208, ,, 4, *for* "in 27 days, etc.," *read* "in 19 days: the first part from the 1st to the 11th of October, 1738, completed on the 1st of November; the second part from the 15th to the 20th of October, completed on the 28th!"
,, 218, ,, 17, *omit* "and the *Occasional Oratorio*."
,, 218, ,, 23, *for* "which includes the *funeral anthem*, has personages and divisions into scenes, which gives it the appearance of a dramatic piece," *read* "which includes the extracts from *Solomon* for the first part, has in this part the names of personages (High Priest, Joseph, Israelite woman, Israelite man), as if the composer wished to throw it into a dramatic form."
,, 238, ,, 28, *for* "in 1746," *read* "in 1774."
,, 265, ,, 6, *after* "a month previously," *add* "Sir Henry Bishop says in his edition of the *Messiah*, that these choruses are made out of *four* chamber duets, but we will furnish proofs in our catalogue that it is a mistake."
,, 281, ,, 14, *omit* "in a lady."
,, 285, ,, 27, *for* "Kulnau, Taleman," *read* "Kuhnau, Telemann."
,, 289, heading, *for* "MESSIAH," *read* BELSHAZZAR."
,, 301, line 27, *for* "season of 1746," *read* "season of 1745."
,, 319, last line of note, *for* "was introduced in the revival of *Hercules* in 1749," *read* "was introduced in some revival of *Hercules*. It is added to Smith's copy of *Hercules* used by Handel."
,, 323, heading, *for* "Scene at the Foundling," *read* "Scene at a performance of *Samson*."
,, 323, line 3, *for* "at the organ," *read* "near the organ."
,, 347, ,, 6, *after* "Friday night," *add* "April 20th."
,, 350, ,, 24, *for* "fixed for the 21st," *read* "fixed for the 20th."
,, 383, ,, 32, *for* "grand concerto," *read* "grand concertante."
,, 386, ,, 18, *for* "in twenty-four days," *read* "in nineteen days."
,, 394, ,, 10 of notes, *omit* "Mozart also filled up, etc."
,, 407, ,, 31, *for* "of the sixteenth century," *read* "of the seventeenth century."
,, 408, ,, 10, *for* "composed glees," *read* "composed madrigals.
,, 414, ,, 5, *for* "in A flat," *read* "in C flat."
,, 421, heading of "How beautiful," *for* "page 255," *read* "265."
,, 423, line 2, *for* "borrowings for," *read* "borrowing from."

In concluding this Errata, it is but just to observe, that the remarks made at pp. xx and 2, on negligent biographers, do not apply to the *Brief Memoir of G. F. Handel* by Mr. John Bishop of Cheltenham. Mr. Bishop, whose publication preceded ours, has devoted himself to diligent and very successful researches, and thus had already given the true date of Handel's birth, and likewise taken notice of the existence of the German Oratorio of the *Passion*.

LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED BY THE AUTHOR.

Collections of Handel's Original MSS. at Buckingham Palace, and at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Collection of the Scores used by Handel when conducting, and now in the possession of the Author.

Collection of the Works of Handel, copied by J. C. Smith, Esq., his amanuensis, now in the possession of Henry Barrett Lennard, Esq.

A Treatise of Musick. By Alex. Malcolm. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1721.

A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies; being a Collection of the finest Opera Songs and Airs in English and Italian. 2 vols.; one small 8vo, the other 8vo. London, Cluer. N.D. (about 1725.)

Poems on Several Occasions. By Henry Carey. Small 8vo. 1729.

The Musical Miscellany; being a Collection of choice Songs. 6 vols. small 8vo. London, T. Watts, 1729—31.

The Opera Miscellany; being a Pocket Collection of Songs, chiefly composed for the Royal Academy of Musick. Small 8vo. London, John Browne. N.D. (about 1730.)

Letters from the Academy of Ancient Music at London to Signor Antonio Lotti of Venise, with Answers and Testimonies. A Pamphlet. London, 1732.

The Oxford Act; a new ballad opera. A Pamphlet. London, 1733.

The Oxford Act, A.D. 1733; being a particular and exact account of that solemnity. Pamphlet. London, 1734.

John Hughes's Poems. Small 8vo. London, 1735.

The Opera Register, from November, 1712 to 1734. MS. at the

British Museum (Catalogue, 218, King's MSS.), containing a list of the performances at the Italian Opera. By Francis Colman.

The British Musical Miscellany; or, the Delightful Grove: being a Collection of celebrated English and Scotch Songs. 6 vols. 8vo. London, Walsh, 1734—37.

Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte woran der tüchtigsten Capellmeister, Componisten, Musickgelehrten, &c. Von Mattheson. Hamburg, 1740.

An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber. 1 vol. 8vo. London, 1740.

The Musical Dictionary. By James Grassineau. 8vo. London, 1740.

Universal Harmony; or, the Gentlemen and Ladies' Social Companion. 1 vol. 4to. J. Newbery. London, 1745.

The Art of Composing Music by a method entirely new, suited to the meanest capacity. Pamphlet. London, 1751.

The Works of the late Aaron Hill. 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1753.

Remarks upon Musick; to which are added several observations upon some of Mr. Handel's Oratorios, and other parts of his works. By a Lover of Harmony. Worcester, 1758.

The Dramatic Works of Aaron Hill. 4 vols. 8vo. 1760.

Memoirs of the Life of the late George Frederic Handel. (Mainwaring.) 8vo. London, 1760.

An Account of the Life of Handel, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of April, 1760.

Abstract of the Life of Handel in the *London Chronicle,* June, 1760.

Clio and Euterpe; or, British Harmony: a Collection of celebrated Songs and Cantatas. 3 vols. royal 8vo. London, H. Roberts, 1762.

The Companion to the Playhouse. 2 vols. small 8vo. London, 1764.

Dictionnaire de Musique. Par J. J. Rousseau. Paris, 1768.

An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music. By a Member. Pamphlet, 8vo. London, 1770. (By Hawkins).

Miscellaneous Works of Dr. Arbuthnot. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1770.

Various Journals, the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *London Magazine,* from 1710 to 1770.

The Musical Magazine; or, Compleat Pocket Companion for the Years 1767, 68, 69, *and* 70. 4 vols. small 4to. London, J. Bennett.

A General History of the Science and Practice of Music. By John Hawkins. 5 vols. 4to. London, 1776.—New edition, in 2 vols. 4to, double columns. Novello, 1853.[1]

Dramatic Works of Colley Cibber. 5 vols. 12mo. London, 1777.

A. B. C. Dario Musico. Bath, 1780.

An Account of the Life of Handel, in the *European Magazine,* March, 1784.

An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon, in Commemoration of Handel. By Charles Burney. 4to. London, 1785.

The Messiah. Fifty Discourses on the Scriptural Passages which form the subject of the celebrated Oratorio of Handel. By John Newton. 1786.

A General History of Music. By Charles Burney, Mus. Doct. 4 vols. 4to. London, 1776 to 1789.

The Play Pocket Companion; or, Theatrical Vade Mecum. London, 1789.

A Complete Dictionary of Music, &c. By John Hoyle. Small 8vo. London, 1791.

The Theatrical Dictionary. London, 1792.

An Encyclopædia, or Dictionary of Music, &c. By T. F. Dannely. Small 8vo. London, N. D.

The Works of Handel, in Score. Edited by Arnold. 32 vols. 1785—1797.

The Sacred Oratorios and the *Miscellaneous Pieces,* as set to Music by G. F. Handel. By T. Heptinstall. 2 vols. 32mo. 1799.

Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith. 4to. London, 1799. (Rev. W. Coxe, Rector of Bemerton.)

Trivia. By Gay. 12mo. London, 1807.

Poetical Works of Pope.

Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London during the Eighteenth Century. By Peller Malcolm. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1811.

[1] The pagination which I have invariably adopted of Hawkins's *History of Music,* whenever it is quoted by me, is that of Mr. Novello's new edition, which is more complete than the previous one, more within the reach of everybody on account of its price, and also because the index with which it is provided facilitates research. Whenever the name of Burney occurs as an authority, with a cipher of pagination, it is the fourth volume of his *History of Music* that is indicated. Whenever any of the first three volumes or his *Account of the Commemoration of* 1784 are referred to, it is specially indicated.

History of the Origin and Progress of the Meeting of the Three Choirs of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford. By the Rev. Dan. Lysons. Gloucester, 1812.

Biographia Dramatica. By Baker, Reed, and Jones. 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1812.

Musical Biography. (W. Bingley.) 2 vols, 8vo. London, 1714.

Anecdotes of Music. By A. Burgh. 3 vols. 12mo. London, 1814.

Dictionnaire Historique des Musiciens. Par Choron et Fayolle. 2 vols. 8vo. 1817.

The Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary, &c. By Rees. 39 vols. 4to. London, 1819.

A General History of Music. By Th. Busby. 2 vols. royal 8vo. London, 1819.

Commemoration of Handel. By John King. 8vo. 1819.

Posthumous Letters from various Celebrated Men, addressed to Francis Colman and George Colman. 4to. London, 1820.

Beattie's Letters, from Sir William Forbes's Collection. 2 vols. 32mo. London, 1820.

A Dictionary of Music. By Busby. Small 8vo. London, 1820.

An Account of the National Anthem. By Richard Clark. Royal 8vo. London, 1822.

How to be Rid of a Wife. By Miss Eliz. Spence. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1823.

Somerset House Gazette. By Ephraim Hardcastle. 2 vols. 4to. 1823.

An Account of the Grand Musical Festival held in September, 1823, in York. By John Crosse, F.S.A., F.R.S.L., and M.G.S.[1] 4to. York, 1825.

The Second Yorkshire Musical Festival, 1825. 4to. York, 1825.

Literary and Miscellaneous Memoirs. By J. Cradock. 1826.

De l'Opéra en France. Par M. Castil Blaze. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1826.

A Catalogue of the Musical Library belonging to his Majesty's Concerts of Ancient Music. 8vo. London, 1827.

[1] The English *savans* having a mania for putting the alphabet after their names, as the initials of titles which no foreigners and few Englishmen seem to understand, I have deemed it expedient to attach an explanation to the hieroglyphics here used. F.S.A., Fellow of the Society of Arts; F.R.S.L., Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature; M.G.S., Member of the Geological Society; LL.D., Doctor of Laws and Literature.

A Dictionary of Musicians. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1727.

Memoir Relating to the Portrait of Handel by Francis Kyte. Pamphlet. 4to. 1829. (By Keith Milnes, Esq.)

An Account of the Royal Musical Festival held in Westminster Abbey, 1834. By John Parry. A Pamphlet. 4to. London.

Musical Reminiscences. By Mount Edgcumbe. London, 1834.

Letters of Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann. Third edition. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1834.

Reminiscences of Handel, his Grace the Duke of Chandos, Powells the Harpers, etc. By Richard Clarke. Pamphlet. Folio. London, 1836.

Biographie Universelle des Musiciens. Par Fétis. 8 vols. royal 8vo. Paris, 1839.

Dictionnaire de Musique. Par Lichtenthal, traduit et augmenté par Mondo. 2 vols. royal 8vo. Paris, 1839.

Georg Friedrich Hændel's Stammbaum nach Original-quellen und authentischen Nachrichten. (Genealogy of Georg Friedrick Handel taken from original sources and authentic proofs, collected and elaborated.) Von Karl Edward Förstemann. Pamphlet. Folio. Leipzig, 1844. Chez Breithopf et Härtel.

Memoirs of Musick. By the Hon. Roger North. Edited by Dr. Rimbault, LL.D., F.S.A.

Memoranda, or Chronicles of the Foundling Hospital. By John Brownlow. 8vo. 1847.

An Account of the Visit of Handel to Dublin. By Horatio Townsend. Small 8vo. Dublin, 1852.

Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum. Royal 8vo. London, 1852.

The Works of Handel, in Score. By the Handel Society. 14 vols. London, 1844—1853. (A preface is attached to each publication.)

Messiah. 4to. London. With an Analysis of the Oratorio. 1853. Published by the Sacred Harmonic Society. (Libretto of the words.)

Complete Encyclopedia of Music. By T. Moore. Royal 8vo. Boston, 1854.

Dictionnaire de Plain Chant et de Musique d'Eglise au Moyen Age. Par J. D'Ortigue. 4to. Paris, 1854.

Brief Memoirs of George Frederick Handel. By John Bishop, of Cheltenham. Pamphlet. Folio. London, 1856.

Grand Handel Musical Festival at the Crystal Palace. By Mr. Thomas Bowley. Pamphlet. 8vo. 1857.

The Theatrical Register. MS. 4to. At the British Museum; filled with advertisements and theatrical criticisms, cut from the journals of the eighteenth century.

It is believed that this list contains all the works published in England which can be of service, directly or indirectly, to this Biography. There exists a *Life of Handel* by Dixwell—a pamphlet, published in London in 1784; but although I have been unable to discover a copy of it anywhere, even in the British Museum, the following verdict of the *Critical Review* for 1784 leaves little to be regretted on that score:—"This work is a vulgar narration, very ungrammatical, and devoid of common sense."

France possesses absolutely nothing on the life and works of Handel, except the articles about him in the *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, by M. Fétis, and the *Dictionnaire Historique des Musiciens* of Choron and Fayolle; there is, besides (according to M. Fétis), an abridged translation of Mainwaring inserted in the *Variétés Littéraires* of Arnaud and Suard. Paris, 1768. The article in the *Biographie Universelle* of Michaud is nothing but a piece of scissors-work, and is altogether insignificant.

Besides the work of Mattheson, and that of M. Förstemann above mentioned, all that German literature possesses respecting the great musician is as follows:—

Einfültige Critique der Opera Julius Cæsar in Aegypten. Von Hans Sachsen. Hamburg, 1725. (Simple Criticism of the Opera of *Julius Cæsar in Egypt*, by Hans Sachsen.) It is said that an answer to this criticism has been published at Altona, under the title of "*Hans Sachsen's Heroic Poem.*"

Georg Friedrich Händel's Lebensbeschreibung, nebst einem Verzeichnisse seiner Ausübung-Werke und deren Beurtheilung, &c. Von Mattheson. Hambourg, 1761. 8vo. (G. F. Handel's Biography, with a list of his works and a criticism of them.) This notice of Mattheson is a translation of Mainwaring, with remarks of the translator upon the works of Handel. My endeavours have hitherto been in vain to obtain a copy of this in Germany, and it is not to be found in the British Museum.

Georg Friedrich Händel's Jugend. (G. F. Handel's Youth.) Von Reichhardt. Berlin, 1786. 30 pages in 8vo. (Not to be found in the British Museum.)

Händel dessen Lebensumstände (Particulars of the Life of G. F Handel) in *Adrastea*, von V. Herder. Leipzig, 1802.

Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten. (Biographies of celebrated Musicians.) Von Hiller. 8vo. Leipzig, 1784.

Für Freunde der Tonkunst. (For the Friends of Musical Art.) 4to. Von Rochlitz. (Notice of Handel and of *The Messiah* in the 1st and 4th vols.)

Der grosse Musikus Händel im Universalruhme. (The great Musician Handel in his Universal Fame.) Von J. M. Weissebeck. Nürnberg. 4to. 1809. (Not to be found in the British Museum.)

M. Fétis, in his article on Handel in the *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens,* mentions the following works:—

"Burney's notice of the Commemoration has been translated into German by Eschenburg, with additions and notes.

"Krause has also published a notice upon Handel, in his *Darstellungen aus der Geschichte der Musik.* (Exposition of the History of Music.) Pp. 155—170.

"Finally, Mr. Theodore Milde has given another, in his work entitled *Ueber das Leben und die Werke der beliebesten deutschen Dichter und Tonsetzer.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1834. (On the Life and Works of the most Celebrated German Poets and Musicians.)"

Le Dictionnaire of Choron and Fayolle mentions also a Life of Handel in the *Lexicon de Musique Allemande,* by Walther.

PREFACE.

Of all the Arts, Music is that which brings the greatest consolation to the mind, when consolation is possible. The misfortunes of the times have compelled me to quit my native country for a season, and in my retirement in London I have found a great source of consolation in listening to the Oratorios of Handel, which I had already learnt to admire during three previous visits to England, and at home in the constant society of classical amateurs. Out of this grew a wish to possess all the works of that great man, to whom I felt so deeply indebted. In bringing these together, I found it necessary, to their proper arrangement, that I should make myself acquainted with the various authors who have made mention of Handel. These researches, commenced by me when alone and in the bitterness of exile, drew me on much further than I had anticipated, and produced results which seem to me capable of interesting both the connoisseurs of Handel and those who know nothing about him; for he was not only one of the first composers that the world ever saw, but he was also a man gifted with a great and noble character. It is in this belief that I offer to the reader this work, the fruit of three years spent in zealous and assiduous labour.

And, first, let me acknowledge, both for the satisfaction of my sense of gratitude and to give a greater value to my work, that I have received great and important assistance from various quarters. I have to thank His Royal Highness Prince Albert

for having permitted copies of many pieces in the collection of the original MSS. of Handel, now preserved in Buckingham Palace, to be taken for my use. Mr. Surman, the conductor of the orchestra for the London Sacred Harmonic Society, has shown himself ever ready to reply to questions addressed to his long experience. Mr. R. Bowley, the treasurer, and Mr. W. Husk, the librarian of the Sacred Harmonic Society, have kindly, and upon many occasions, opened to me the rich and vast musical library which is under their charge. Mr. R. Lonsdale has communicated to me some useful documents, collected in the course of his extensive reading. The Rev. C. C. Babington, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge (whose classical attainments have gained for him an European reputation), also rendered me very great assistance, when I visited Cambridge for the purpose of examining the MSS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum, and, thanks to his aid and hospitality, I had no difficulty in accomplishing the purpose of my journey. Nor must I omit to offer my grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Anderson, who holds in his charge the Handelian manuscripts at Buckingham Palace. Without relaxing in any degree the vigilance which he owes to those admirable relics, Mr. Anderson has, with perfect courtesy, given me access to them, never wearying of repeated visits; and, indeed, it is not too much to say that, were it not for his valuable aid, my work would have been far more incomplete than I have reason to believe it really is. In addition to all this, I must confess myself deeply indebted to Mr. Horatio Townsend, the author of *Handel's Visit to Dublin*, whose elegant correspondence has been most instructive to me; and the reader will not fail to perceive how much useful information I owe to Dr. Rimbault, who has shown the greatest liberality in communicating what he knows on the subject.

And truly it needed all these aids to bring my undertaking to an issue. The necessary documents were not wanting, but

they were scattered about in a thousand different places, and had never before been brought together. The *Memoirs of the Life of the Late G. F. Handel,* published anonymously in 1760, by the Rev. John Mainwaring, is nothing but a summary, without much exactness; the work of the laborious Sir John Hawkins has nothing more special than the short biographical notices of the numerous musicians whom he mentions; that of Dr. Burney is (as he himself calls it) "a sketch"—a sketch, too, which was traced with some degree of haste, to be placed at the head of his *Account of the Commemoration of* 1784. At the same time, I set a great value upon these works, especially upon that of Dr. Burney, who occupied himself thoroughly, in his *History of Music,* with the Italian operas of Handel. The labour which I myself have undergone compels me to do full justice to the results which he has produced; and if I should seem to take exception to him in any respect, it is a real homage to his habitual exactness; he has so well cleared the road, that he has rendered it passable to the more severe and curious inquirer, and it is really astonishing that, out of the mass of documents which he had to examine, and the great number of those which he set in order, he has made so few mistakes.[1] It is not, therefore, my intention to depreciate what Mainwaring, Hawkins, and Burney have done. They belonged to that race of conscientious men who write as if in the performance of a duty, and I admit that, without them, the task of modern historians of Handel would have been almost an impossible one. What they did was to bring together the materials out of which an edifice

[1] Burney wrote to Dr. Quint of Dublin (and it may be readily believed) that the materials for his *General History of Music* (four volumes in quarto) had cost him £2000; and all the leisure hours which his profession allowed him during thirty years were occupied in putting them together, without estimating the expense of the paper, the printing, the engraving, and the advertisements (Townsend, page 99). Hawkins worked for more than thirty years at his excellent and most instructive *History of Music,* five volumes quarto.

may be constructed. And yet (strange to relate!) though they have been silent these sixty years, no one has attempted to perform the work which they prepared. In this country of England, which Handel has so illuminated and adorned, and where he has still so many passionate admirers, not one has yet been found to tell the story of his life. It is true that many have touched upon this theme; but they have all copied, more or less directly, the three authors who have been already named; not caring to search any further, or even to take the trouble of arranging that which they borrowed.[1]

Heptinstall, for example, in his "Sacred Oratorios and Miscellaneous Pieces, as set to Music by Handel," says that "*Florinda* and *Daphne* were composed at Hamburg in 1708" (Burney's date); afterwards, that the journey of the composer into Italy, which took place immediately after leaving Hamburg, "lasted six years" (Mainwaring's date), "and terminated in 1710!" Busby (*General History of Music*) explains to us that Handel produced *Roderigo* in Florence, in 1702, and that "he continued there about a year," that he afterwards visited Venice, Rome, and Naples, whence, "having seen as much of Italy as his curiosity or his profession required," he went to Hanover, where "he was not long resolving on his journey to England," and that he arrived in London "during the winter of 1710." Whence it would appear that Handel occupied at least *eight years* in *visiting* Venice, Rome, and Naples; a period certainly too long for the satisfaction of mere "curiosity." Busby, in spite of his noble enthusiasm for Handel, continually commits similar blunders. It is scarcely possible to imagine the extreme carelessness of others. Hawkins wrote in 1774:— "The *Chandos Anthems* are about twenty in number. As they

[1] Mr. Horatio Townsend's *Visit to Dublin* must be excepted from this criticism. He has thoroughly examined that part of the life of the great composer, bringing to light a number of curious facts, and, so far as his subject extended, has left nothing to be gleaned after him.

have not been printed, it may be some satisfaction to the curious to be informed that the library of the Academy of Ancient Music contains the greatest part of them." In 1814, an anonymous writer published, in two volumes octavo, a *Musical Biography*, &c., and in the article upon Handel the above passage was taken literally from Hawkins, the author being ignorant of the fact that, during the sixty years that had intervened since the appearance of Hawkins's work, the *Twelve Chandos Anthems* (all that have ever existed) had been printed two or three times over!

If I have not been more fortunate than my predecessors in avoiding error, at least it must in justice be admitted that I have manifested a greater zeal for the truth. In every branch of the subject I have gone to the fountain-head. During more than a month, it was my daily lot to examine the eighty-seven volumes of the great man's own manuscripts which are now in Buckingham Palace, and those were the best moments which I spent upon my undertaking; for whilst I held in my hands the very papers which he had held in his, and examined his own handwriting, and copied his memoranda, and sought eagerly for the slightest particle of himself, it seemed to me as if I were living with Handel; and as day by day I grew to a better understanding of the incessant labour with which that fecund genius corrected and recorrected everything which he wrote, the hours of my labour seemed shorter to me.

When I visited Cambridge, I found seven volumes of original manuscript, containing a variety of detached pieces of very great value, and I obtained copies of all which have been hitherto unedited. What can be the reason that no Englishman has ever taken in hand these precious waifs and strays in the Fitzwilliam Museum? The small number of those who are aware of their existence speak of them as vaguely as if they were at Kamschatka; and I have never yet seen them quoted any-

where, not even in any one of the fine editions of the Handel Society. Yet they include many pieces which were supposed to be lost, duplicates and first sketches, the competent examination of which must be of the greatest service to modern inquirers. They possess all the value which attaches to the original sketches of a great master. Two monographs have been published of the marvellous etchings of Rembrandt, and the slightest relics of Leonardo da Vinci and of Michael Angelo have been engraved with respect; how is it, then, that a musician has not been found to edit and annotate these manuscripts, and those of Buckingham Palace? The changing thoughts of a man like Handel cannot but be instructive objects of study and contemplation.

During a period of three months, Mr. Rophino Lacy has conducted for me, at the British Museum, a most minute research into the journals of the Handelian period, by means of which I am able to fix positively a great many dates and facts which have hitherto been considered as doubtful; and, in addition, Mr. Lacy's own knowledge has been of the utmost value to me. I never met with any man better versed than he is in the music of Handel, be it Italian or English; for it seems impossible to produce a bar of it to him with which he is not perfectly familiar.

In fine, I have neglected nothing which seemed likely to conduce to accuracy. It has been my object to collect all that can be known of the life of Handel, and to give the most exact and the most complete catalogue of his works which has yet appeared.[1] This chronological and bibliographical *catalogue raisonné* contains all the dates, as taken by myself from the

[1] This Catalogue will shortly be published in a separate volume. The assistance which Mr. Lacy has rendered me in framing it amounts really to a collaboration. He it was who made those musical examinations of the manuscripts at Buckingham Palace, and of the scores which Handel himself used when he conducted his own works, which have so materially assisted me in my task. The details of the Catalogue which indicate technical knowledge are his work, not mine; for I am no pro-

manuscripts with great care and attention, and the compilation of it has cost much more time and labour than the Biography itself. Perhaps, if I could have foreseen what researches it necessitated, I should not have undertaken the task; but now that it is finished, I am very far from regretting the labour which I have expended upon it. The reader will readily believe that a compilation of this kind presents very great difficulties; there are so many dates to compare, to verify, and to reconcile, and so many obscure points to be cleared up; and often have I found it necessary to write, or to rewrite, different articles three, four, or five times over. These are sore trials to the patience, and one is apt to ask one's self, in the hour of weariness, whether the result is worthy of the labour. But then there are compensations; one has the hope of doing something that may be useful, and one feels a singular satisfaction in discovering the explanation of a fact hitherto incomprehensible, in recovering, as it were, the lost link of a broken chain. Moreover, it is incontestable that these *reconstructive* studies have afforded me much light as to the life of the great *maëstro*; they have enabled me both to see better and to penetrate deeper. The dryness of mere details disappears entirely when the discovery of a *chef-d'œuvre* is made, and it will be seen that that good fortune has not been denied me. But I shall regret neither time nor labour if the work contributes in any degree to the glory of the giant of music; and my best wishes will be fulfilled if amateurs derive any benefit from my investigations.

In spite of all the care and pains which have been expended, there can be no doubt that many errors have been committed,

fessed musician. This also seems to be the proper place for acknowledging the liberality of Mr. Lennard, who possesses a manuscript collection of Handel's works, which is almost complete, and which he has always, with the greatest generosity, placed at the disposal of Mr. Lacy. Like a true amateur, Mr. Lennard is free from that selfishness which glories in the possession of treasures only for the pleasure of possessing them.

and I shall therefore regard it as a friendly office, if those who discover any such will kindly point them out to me, through the address of the publisher. When the truth has been sought for in good faith, something useful may be gathered by the skillful inquirer, even from the mistakes of his predecessor.

As for my observations upon Handel and the art which he illustrated, I shall say, with Montaigne, "I offer them to the reader not as good, but as mine." If they have any merit at all, it is because they express the musical sensuousness of a man who is so untechnical that he would be hard put to it to read the gamut.

In conclusion, I would observe that the life of Handel can only be written, and his works can only be studied, in England. There only is he well and widely known; there only is he sung, and played, and venerated as he deserves to be. Happy shall I be if the publication of this work, by recalling to my countrymen the memory of a great master whom they know too little of, shall suggest to them the regular performance of his immortal works. May the choruses and singers of Paris form, for that purpose, an association analogous to that which Habeneck brought together at the Conservatoire for the performance of symphonies. There can be little doubt that the French public would not be slow to reward such an effort. So long as France deprives herself of the oratorios of Handel, there will be found within her a great deficiency in the culture of Musical Art.

V. SCHŒLCHER.

London, *April* 5, 1857.

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LIFE OF HANDEL.

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GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL was born at Halle, on the Saale, in the Duchy of Magdeburg, Lower Saxony. One of his compatriots, a laborious compiler, such as Germany only produces, M. Karl Eduard Förstemann, has published his genealogy, at Leipsic,[1] and he proves, by the registers of the Lutheran Church of Notre Dame de St. Laurent, at Halle, where the great musician was baptized, that his true German names are Georg Friedrich Händel, and that the family name is written in five different ways—Händel, Hendel, Händeler, Hendeler, and Hendtler; but most commonly Händel. A trace of this fluctuation of the family name may be found in the will of Handel himself, in which he leaves £300 to his "cousin Christianna Susannah Handelin." In Italy he constantly signed his name Hendel; but from the commencement of his residence in England, down

[1] See list of works consulted.

to the day of his death, he invariably signed, George Fridcric Handel; and that, therefore, appears to be the orthography of his names which has the best right to be preserved. The English have been quite as ingenious as the Germans in discovering variations for this name; for it has been written Hendall, Hendell, Handell, Handle, Hondel, and Haendel.

All the biographers—English, French, and German—agree in stating that he was born on the 24th of February, 1684. This also is the date which is carved upon his tomb in Westminster Abbey; but, nevertheless, it is erroneous. M. Förstemann thus refers to the subject:—"Dreyhaupt, in his 'Description of the Province of the Saale,' has alone given the correct date of Handel's birth; which is the 23rd of February, 1685. (Vol. ii., p. 625.) In fact, it may be seen by the books of the Church of Notre Dame de St. Laurent, at Halle, that Handel was baptized there on the 24th of February, 1685, and it is known that at that time the baptism always took place on the day after the birth. In addition to this, the rare veracity and perfect information which Dreyhaupt manifests in everything that relates to our town speak for themselves in favour of his assertion."

Handel himself had previously confirmed this rectification of this date, without anybody perceiving it. In the manuscript of *Solomon*, after having signed, and dated it the 13th of June, 1748, he adds, "Ætatis 63;" in that of *Susannah*, dated the 9th of August in the same year, he again adds, "Ætatis 63;" finally, *Jephtha* is signed, "30th of August, 1751, Ætatis 66, G. F. Handel." If the author of *Susannah* and of *Jephtha* had been born in 1684, he would have been sixty-four years old in 1748 and sixty-seven in 1751. As Handel has himself declared his age upon several occasions, it is difficult to explain the obstinacy with which, for more than a century, this blunder has been persisted in, otherwise than by the blind readiness with which writers copy certain assertions from each other when once they have become current. The truth, however, did not escape all his contemporaries. In the list of celebrated deaths for the year 1759, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, may be found—"G. F. Handel, Esq., a great musician. He was born in Germany,

in 1685." But Mainwaring, who wrote the earliest biographical notice of the great musician,[1] placed the date at 1684, and every one has copied his mistake. It is, however, quite certain that Handel was born on the 23rd of February, 1685, and not on the 24th of February, 1684.

All vocations, be they ever so strong, do not invariably lead to something great: frequently they become abortive; often, after casting a supernatural light for a time, they are suddenly extinguished, or at best never surpass mediocrity. Nevertheless, all great artists come into the world with a vocation which manifests itself, in their earliest years, in a remarkable, imperious, and irresistible manner. George Frideric Handel was such a one. His father, who was a surgeon, and was sixty-three years old when this child first saw the light, determined to make a lawyer of him; but Nature had resolved to make him a composer, and the struggle between Nature and the father commenced at the very cradle of the future author of *The Messiah*. Scarcely had he begun to speak, when he articulated musical sounds. The doctor, who was the son of Valentin Handel, a master coppersmith, was terribly alarmed when he discovered instincts of so low an order in his eyes. He understood nothing of Art, nor of the noble part which artists sustain in the world; he saw in them nothing but a sort of mountebank, who amuse the world in its idle moments. "Music," said he, "was an elegant art and a fine amusement; yet, if considered as an occupation, it had little dignity, as having for its subject nothing better than mere pleasure and entertainment."[2] Uneasy, and almost ashamed at the inclinations of his son, the father of Handel opposed them by all possible means. He would not send him to any of the public schools, because there not only grammar but the gamut would be taught him; he would not permit him to be taken to any place, of whatever description, where he could hear music; he forbad him the slightest exercise of that nature, and banished every kind of musical instrument far from

[1] For this and all other authorities that may be quoted in this volume, see list of consulted works.

[2] Mainwaring, p. 10.

the house. But he might as well have told the river that it was not to flow. Nature surmounted every obstacle to her decree. The precautions taken to stifle the instincts of the child served only to fortify by concentrating them. He found means to procure a clavichord, or dumb spinet,[1] and to conceal it in a garret, whither he went to play when all the household was asleep. This fact, incredible as it may appear, is positively affirmed by Mainwaring, and both Hawkins and Burney also attach credit to it. Although the clavichord was a sort of square box, which was placed upon a table, we must at least suppose that either the nurse or the mother of the child were his accomplices, and that he had acquired certain ideas upon the subject before music was forbidden him. However that may have been, Nature is said to have been his first teacher. Without any guidance, finding out everything for himself, and merely by permitting his little fingers to wander over the key-board, he produced harmonic combinations; and at seven years of age he discovered that he knew how to play upon the spinet. If all this be not true, we must recognize in it one of those extraordinary fables in which the poetic imagination of the Middle Ages loved to conceal extraordinary truths.

It was in the following manner that the poor father discovered his defect:—He had, by a former marriage, a son, who was valet-de-chambre to the reigning Duke of Saxe-Weisenfelds. He wished to go and visit him; and George, who was then seven years old, and who was not acquainted with this brother, begged of his father to take him with him. When this was refused, he did not insist, but watched for the moment when the coach set off, and followed it on foot. The father saw him, stopped the coach and scolded him; when the child, as if he did not hear the scolding, recommenced his supplications to be allowed to take part in the journey, and at last (thanks to that persistance which predicted the man of energy which he eventually proved to be) his request was granted. When they had arrived as the palace of the Duke, the boy stole off to the organ

[1] The strings were banded with strips of cloth, to deaden the sound. They were much used in the cells of nunneries.

in the chapel as soon as the service was concluded, and was unable to resist the temptation of touching it. The Duke, not recognizing the style of his organist, made inquiries; and when the trembling little artist was brought before him he encouraged him, and soon won his secret from him. The Duke then addressed himself to the father, and represented to him that it was a sort of crime against humanity to stifle so much genius in its birth. The old doctor was greatly astonished, and had not much to answer; the opinion of a sovereign prince must have had, moreover, a great influence over the mind of a man who judged of musicians as we have already seen. He permitted himself to be convinced, and promised, not without some regret, to respect a vocation which manifested itself by such unmistakable signs. Handel was present, his eyes fastened upon his powerful protector without losing a word of the argument; never did he forget it, and for ever afterwards he regarded the Duke of Saxe-Weisenfelds as his benefactor, for having given such good advice to his father. On his return home, his wishes were gratified, and he was permitted to take lessons from Sackau, or Zackau, the organist of the Cathedral at Halle. Sackau was an organist of the old school, learned, fond of his art, adoring the fugue, the canon, and the counterpoint. He was not long in discovering what a pupil Fortune had sent to him. He began by carefully instructing him in general principles, and then laid before him a vast collection of German and Italian music which he possessed, sacred and profane, vocal and instrumental compositions of different schools, different styles, and of every master. They analyzed everything together. When the pupil was from eight to nine years old, the master would set him to write a sacred motet or cantata weekly; and these exercises, which consisted generally in fugues on a given subject, lasted for three consecutive years. There remain of that epoch "six trio-sonatas for two hautboys and a bassoon," of which, according to Burney, there are copies in the library at Buckingham Palace; but all my endeavours to discover them there have been utterly fruitless.

Whilst these studies were proceeding, the little Handel continued to practice upon the harpsichord, and learnt to play the

violin, the organ, and, above all, the hautboy, then the object of his predilection.[1] This taste of his childhood explains, perhaps, the great number of pieces which he composed for that instrument. At that time he discovered more than he learnt. Sackau was every day more and more astonished at his marvellous progress, and, as he loved wine nearly as well as music, he often sent him to take his place at the organ on Sundays whenever he had a good *dejeuner* to take part in. At length, although he found him of great use, this worthy man confessed, with excellent and admirable pride, that his pupil knew more than himself, and advised that he should be sent to Berlin, where he might strengthen himself by studying other models. The Elector of Brandenburg had at that time a well-appointed opera-house, and attracted to his court all that Italy produced that was remarkable in music.

For his part, the old doctor instructed his son very regularly in Latin, secretly hoping to bring him, one day or other, over to his own ideas. But, being at length over-persuaded, he offered no obstacle to the proposed journey, which took place in 1696, under the protection of a friend of the family. Mainwaring, Burney, and other authors, put the date of this journey at 1698, but this evidently wrong. They all admit that Handel lost his father after his return from Berlin, and it seems to be certain that it was his father who recalled him from that city. But M. Förstemann has proved, by the register of the parish of Halle, that the old doctor died on the 11th of February, 1697, at the age of seventy-five years. And, besides this, Mainwaring is not consistent with himself; for he says Handel was sent to Sackau when he was seven years old, and then he continues, "during this interval of three or four years he had made all the improvements that were any way consistent with the opportunities it afforded; but he was impatient for another situation, which should afford him better. Berlin was the place agreed on."[2] After these words, Mainwaring adds—"It was in 1698 that he went to Berlin;" but 1698 would give thirteen years instead of eleven to the young organist. It was at

[1] Burney. [2] See Mainwaring, page 18.

Berlin (Mainwaring says again) that Attilio "would often take him upon his knee, and make him play on his harpsichord for an hour together." But a boy of thirteen or fourteen years is not usually taken upon the knee, and kept there for hours. In placing the journey to Berlin in 1696, not only is the positive date, as discovered by M. Förstemann adopted, but a probability is given to the details furnished by Mainwaring[1] which they would otherwise not possess.

Handel, being then eleven years of age, made the acquaintance of Attilio and Bononcini at Berlin, two Italian composers, whom subsequently he was to meet again in London. Attilio, a simple and benevolent man, abandoned himself heartily to the enthusiasm which the talents of the new-comer inspired; he praised him everywhere, and made him play the harpsichord and the organ, without either of them appearing ever to grow tired. Bononcini, on the other hand, who had a harsh, sombre, and jealous disposition, and who enjoyed a great and merited reputation, treated the little fellow with scorn. Tired of hearing his skillful execution praised, this man composed a cantata for the harpsichord, which he filled with a multitude of difficulties, and requested Handel to play it; feeling sure that even a professor of music could never decipher it without study. But the pupil of Sackau executed this formidable cantata at sight, as if it had been a mere bagatelle. Bononcini was amazed, and treated him thenceforward as a rival. But Bononcini was a character; and whilst he conceived hatred for a child, he was logical, and showed him the politeness due to a man.

At Berlin, Handel passed for a prodigy. The Elector wishing to become the patron of so rare a genius, manifested a disposition to attach him to himself, and to send him to Italy to

[1] The Rev. John Mainwaring, the anonymous author of the *Memoirs of the Life of Handel*, was a member of St. John's College, Cambridge, and professor at that University. Born in 1735 (according to a note by Mr. Townsend), he was only twenty-five years old when he wrote his Biography in 1760. It is extremely useful for reference; but must, nevertheless, be read with caution. Mainwaring gathered together many things that were generally unknown. He received notes from Smith, Handel's secretary, but he did not examine what he wrote with sufficient care. He was not gifted with an analytical mind, and, therefore, he is frequently inexact.

complete his musical education. But when the father was consulted, he did not think it wise to enchain the future of his son to the Court of Berlin, and he excused himself, saying that he was now an old man, and that he wished to keep near him the only son who remained to him; and as in those days it was not prudent to oppose a prince on his own land, Handel was brought back somewhat hastily to his native town.

The homage of which he had perceived himself to be the object, had by this time, doubtless, given him some notion of his superiority; but this only rendered him more assiduous in his studies. What he had learnt at Berlin had enlarged his ideas, and he set himself to work again with Sackau, seeking out the secrets of his art, analyzing the defects and the qualities of the different masters of every nation, copying and composing large quantities of music, working constantly to acquire the most solid knowledge of the science. Study is the fertilizing agent, without which the richest and most fruitful of soils must soon become sterile. We read in the *Anecdotes of Handel and Smith*:—"It has long been a matter of curious research, among the admirers of Handel, to discover any traces of his early studies. Among Mr. Smith's collection of music, now in the possession of his daughter-in-law, Lady Rivers,[1] is a book of manuscript music, dated 1698, and inscribed with the initials G. F. H. It was evidently a common-place book belonging to Handel, in the fourteenth year of his age. The greater part is in his own hand, and the notes are characterized by a peculiar manner of forming the crotchets. It contains various airs, choruses, capricios, fugues, and other pieces of music, with the names of contemporary musicians, such as Zackau, Alberti, Frobergher, Krieger, Kerl, Ebner, Strunch. They were probably exercises adopted at pleasure, or dictated for him to work upon by his master. The composition is uncommonly scientific, and contains the seeds of many of his subsequent performances." The precious "book of manuscript music," mentioned in this extract, is no

[1] She was the daughter of Mrs. Coxe, the widow of Dr. Coxe, Physician Extraordinary to the King. Smith, himself a widower, but childless, married the widow Coxe in 1795.—(*Anecdotes*, &c., p. 56.)

longer to be found in Smith's collection.[1] What has become of it?

About this time Handel contracted relations with another studious young composer, which was much to their mutual benefit. Telemann, born at Magdeburg, in 1681, says, in his notes upon his own life, which were entrusted to Mattheson:—"Soon after my arrival at Leipsic, the direction of the opera was confided to me. At this epoch, the pen of the excellent Mr. Jean Kuhnau served me as a model in the fugue and the counterpoint; but as for as the exercises of melody, I was in constant communication with Handel, both by letter and verbally in the visits which we paid each other."[2] Leipsic is distant from Halle not more than six or seven leagues. This took place (according to Telemann) from 1701 to 1703. Handel praised warmly the facility which this companion of his studies possessed, and said that he could compose a piece of church music in eight parts, in less time than another person would take to write a letter.[3]

Handel's father died shortly after the return of his son from Berlin, in 1697, leaving him poor, and it became necessary to provide for his existence as well as his renown. Halle was too small to contain him. He wished to visit Italy, but not having the means of making such a journey, he went to Hamburg in

[1] This collection, which was supposed to be either dispersed or lost, was offered for sale a few months back, and has become the property of the author of these pages. A more worthy possessor might have obtained it but not one who would appreciate it with greater reverence. Its value is inestimable. Out of the 160 volumes of which it is composed, 60 or 70 are the very books which Handel used to conduct his operas and oratorios, and which he bequeathed, in dying, to Christopher Smith, his pupil and secretary. These are, in great part, covered with notes, directions, and corrections in the handwriting of Handel himself, such as cast a new light over his works. Some contain variations and airs which are unedited. An analysis of these Handelian volumes will be found in the *Catalogue*. However, the present possessor only regards himself as the custodian of these precious treasures, and they are at the disposal of all musicians who wish to consult them. The MSS. of great men cannot be the property of any one man exclusively: they belong to the archives of that humanity which they glorify.

[2] *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte, etc.;* von Mattheson, Hambourg, 1740. (Foundations for a Musical Triumphal Arch). This very curious book is a biography of the musicians of the epoch. The articles on Handel, Kaiser, and Telemann have been translated for me by my friend and companion in exile, Dr. Dick.

[3] *Musical Biography.*

the month of July, 1703.[1] This town was, at that time, in the apogee of its commercial prosperity; possessing a German opera-house, which rivalled that of Berlin, and had for its composer-in-chief the Saxon Kaiser, a man of very great reputation.

Handel commenced by entering this theatre as *violon di ripieno*.[2] He was, perhaps, willing to content himself with so small a position, less through modesty than through vanity. The young man of eighteen years reserved to himself the satisfaction of enjoying the general surprise when his capacities should be discovered. This is rendered probable by what Mattheson says :—" At first he played the *violon di ripieno* in the orchestra of the opera-house, and he acted the part of a man who did not know how to count five, for he was naturally prone to dry humour. But the harpsichordist being absent, he allowed himself to be persuaded to replace him, and proved himself to be a great master, to the astonishment of everybody, except myself, who had often heard him in private."

Soon after his arrival at Hamburg, the place of the organist of Lubeck was offered for competition, upon the retirement of the old incumbent, Dietrich Buxtehude, and Handel, accompanied by Mattheson, went to canvass for the vacancy, on the 17th of August, 1703. But they found a rather singular condition attached to the programme, which was, that the successor was to marry the daughter of the retiring organist; and as this was not quite agreeable to them, they returned to Hamburg as happy as they went. This adventure, at the very outset of his career, appears all the more original, when we remember that Handel never manifested any taste for matrimony.

Mattheson was a young citizen of Hamburg, a composer, a singer, and an actor, very clever on the organ and the harpsichord, and afterwards a writer of astonishing fecundity. Born in 1681, he prided himself, when eighty-three years old, on having written as many books upon all sorts of subjects as he had lived years. Many of his works (from which Hawkins and

[1] Mattheson.

[2] The instruments of *ripieno* are used in orchestral compositions to distinguish those *parts* which are only occasionally introduced to fill up and supply the chorus.—Busby's *Dictionary of Music.*

Burney have largely drawn) swarm with documents on the history of music during that epoch. He had been one of the shooting-stars of the musical firmament. At nine years of age he sang and accompanied himself upon the organ in cantatas of his own composition; at eighteen he wrote an opera, *Les Pleiades*, in which he played the principal part; at twenty-five he understood that Nature had deceived him, and as, in the midst of all his studies, he had learnt the English language, he became secretary of the Envoy of Great Britain, resident at Hamburg. He had known Handel from his arrival there. "I introduced him (says he) to the opera, and to many houses where he played music; which procured for him many pupils. He dined often with my father, whose table was open to him; he taught me then a little counterpoint, whilst I, on my side, was very useful to him in dramatic style." Thus they were bound together by a friendship which, at its commencement, was nearly coming to a terrible conclusion. Handel remained in the orchestra presiding over the harpsichord. On the 5th of December, 1704, was performed the opera of *Cleopatra* (Mattheson's third opera), in which the composer himself sang the part of Anthony. He was accustomed, after the death of Anthony, to conduct the remainder of the performance himself, to which Kaiser had never made any objection. But the pupil of Sackau was less accommodating, and refused, with very little reason, to give up the harpsichord when the resuscitated Anthony presented himself. The other was naturally very much irritated at being deprived of his privilege as a *maestro*, and at the end of the representation he left the theatre with Handel, overwhelming him with reproaches. His complaints were not apparently received very graciously, for they had scarcely got out of the theatre when the enraged Mattheson administered to the offender a box on the ear; swords were immediately drawn, and they fought there and then in front of the theatre. Mattheson's weapon was shivered on a large metal button in the coat of his adversary, and this happy circumstance terminated the combat; whereupon Mattheson quotes from we know not what great philosopher:—"If you break your sword upon your friend, you do not injure him so much as if you

spoke ill of him." And after this piece of naïvete, he adds:—"Thanks to a distinguished municipal councillor and to a director of the theatre, we were reconciled. On the 30th of December following, I had the pleasure of having Handel to dine with me, and the same evening we assisted at the representation of his *Almira,* and we became better friends than ever. I recount this episode precisely as it happened, because a short time ago some malicious persons interpreted it in a different manner." The narrator wrote this in 1740, when Handel was alive, and it was not contradicted. Mainwaring's work, which transforms the duel into an attempt at assassination, fell into Mattheson's hands, and he made a translation of it in 1761, in which he repels such an insinuation with indignation; explaining that, far from taking his adversary unawares, "he gave him a blow, as a friendly warning to put himself on guard." He afterwards exposes sharply all the blunders of the English writer, and ridicules above all his persistance in attributing to Handel only fourteen years when he arrived in Hamburg.[1] In the "Anecdotes of Handel," the *attempt at assassination* is also referred to as an error.[2]

Almira, Queen of Castille; or, the Vicissitude of Royalty—the first dramatic work of the composer of Halle—appeared on the 8th of January, 1705, and not in 1704, as the *Musical Patriot* erroneously states.[3] It was immediately followed, on the 25th of February, by *Nero; or, Love obtained by Blood and Murder;* then by *Daphne* and by *Florinda* (in my opinion) in 1706. Mattheson played the principal parts in these. *Almira,* above all (he says), was very successful.

Thanks to the politeness of Dr. Gervinus, the Professor of History at Heidelberg, and of Dr. Chrysander, of Berlin,[4] I

[1] Burney. [2] Ibid., page 9. [3] Mattheson.

[4] On the 15th of August, 1856, a prospectus was published in Germany, announcing a complete edition of the works of Handel, to be printed by Messrs. Breitkopf and Härtel, of Leipsic. Dr. Gervinus and Dr. Chrysander, with MM. Dehn, Hauptmann, Breitkopf, and Härtel, form the committee of direction. I earnestly hope that all friends of Art will regard it as a duty to support an enterprise so admirable and so useful. Dr. Chrysander is preparing a history of music in its connection with the life of Handel, which will serve for an introduction to this great German edition.

learn that a copy of this opera, in the handwriting of Mattheson, and corrected by Handel, is in the Berlin Library. This is a most interesting discovery. The other three are unfortunately lost, and nothing is known about them. We have also to regret the cantatas, the sonatas, and a great quantity of vocal and instrumental music, which the author of *Almira* composed at Hamburg. Mainwaring says, "two chests full were left at Hamburg." If, perchance, this book should fall into the hands of some amateur at Hamburg, I should recommend him to search the vast municipal library and the ancient archives of that city, and perhaps he may discover the whole or a part of these works. From Dr. Gervinus and Dr. Chrysander, I also learn that a German cantata of Handel on the "Passion" has been discovered in Germany. It was at first doubted that the cantata, differing from his Oratorio of 1717, on the "Passion," was truly his; but the researches of Dr. Chrysander have ended by convincing him that Handel was really the author of it, and that he wrote it at Hamburg for the Easter of 1704. My direct communications with Dr. Gervinus and Dr. Chrysander enable me to state that no other German music by Handel is known in Germany, than the *Passion* of 1717, the Cantata on the *Passion* of 1704, and *Almira* of 1705. In addition to these, there are among the MSS. in Buckingham Palace nine German cantatas, sacred and profane.

In spite of the position which he had acquired, Handel had not abandoned his design of visiting Italy, when a very tempting opportunity of doing so without expense presented itself. The brother of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Prince Gaston de Medici, whom he met at Hamburg, proposed that he should accompany him to Florence; but he declined to accept the invitation.[1] He had a spirit of independence which never deserted him, and which manifested itself, as we see, at an early age. Although scarcely twenty-one years old, he liked better to wait than to be one of a prince's retinue; and when, apart from what he sent to his mother, he had put aside two hundred ducats out of his pay at the theatre, and what he

[1] Mattheson and Mainwaring, page 40.

gained by giving lessons, he was able to set out alone, but free. He first of all turned his steps towards Florence, in which city we may conclude that he arrived about the month of July, 1706, having resided three years in Hamburg.

And here let me explain that vague expression, "we may conclude." It has been already stated in the preface that there are very few authentic documents to prove, with any certainty, the dates at which the earlier events of Handel's life occurred, and it is therefore necessary to have recourse to hypothesis. To justify my own dates, and to prove that my guides are mistaken, requires a discussion which the greater number of readers may not care to follow. I have, therefore, devoted a somewhat lengthy note to this purpose, which may prove interesting to inquiring minds.[1]

Handel remained in Florence until the end of 1706. There he produced *Roderigo,* for which the Grand Duke presented him

[1] Mattheson says that Handel remained at the Hamburg theatre, and that in 1708 he composed *Florinda* and *Daphne;* that in 1709 he wrote nothing; that he then had an opportunity of visiting Italy by a means which would not have cost him anything, but he refused; that during the winter of 1710 he produced his *Agrippina* in Venice, at the Theatre of St. John Chrysostome; and that in 1717 he was in Hanover. According to this, Handel did not quit Hamburg from 1703 to 1709; and after composing *Almira* and *Nero* in 1705, he waited three years before writing *Florinda* and *Daphne,* one immediately after the other, in 1708. Finally, he could only have visited Italy in 1710; having refused in 1709 to take advantage of the opportunity to go there without expense.

But these assertions are disproved not only by probabilities, but by express dates furnished by Handel himself. In Buckingham Palace there is a *Dixit Dominus* signed "G. F. Hendel, 1707—4 d'Aprile, Roma;" a *Laudate pueri* signed "G. F. H. il 8 July, 1707, Roma;" and the *Resurreczione,* dated "4 d'Aprile, 1708." Moreover, there is in the possession of the lady of Sir Benjamin Hall a manuscript *trio de chambre,* "Se tu non lasci amore," which is very distinctly signed "G. F. Hendel, li 12 Luglio, 1708, Napoli." Finally, it is certain that Handel was in London during the winter of 1710, and that his *Rinaldo* was produced there on the 11th of February, 1711; and it is also certain that he did not come to London until a year after his journey to Italy. If we had not the incontestable proofs of his signatures at Rome and Naples, it would be impossible for him to have made the journey to Italy, and to be at London in 1710, if he only quitted Hamburg during that year. It should not be forgotten that Mattheson's too short notice of Handel was written in 1740 (thirty years after the epoch of which he treats); it was evidently written from memory, and very rapidly, and after the first few years he knows nothing, for he jumps from Hamburg to Venice, in 1710, and from Venice to Hanover in 1717.

The three English writers who come after Mattheson (and who only are of any authority—Mainwaring, Hawkins, and Burney) were ignorant of the authentic

with a service of plate and a purse containing a hundred sequins. The orchestration of this opera offers a singular peculiarity. In a martial song, wherein the use of the trumpet is absolutely

dates, and seem to have been lost in doubt. According to Mainwaring, Handel produced *Almira* in Hamburg when he was fourteen years old, that is to say, during the year - - - - - - - - - - - - 1698
He leaves him in that city "four years," until - - - - - 1702
" " in Italy "six years," until - - - - - 1708
" " in Hanover "one year," until - - - - 1709
If Handel wrote *Almira* at Hamburg, at the age of fourteen years, he must have done so (according to Mainwaring) in 1698, since he puts the date of his birth at 1684; but 1698 is the date at which Mainwaring himself sends him to Berlin, like a child as he was, under the care of one of his father's friends. He also places the quarrel with Mattheson before *Almira;* that is to say, at the age of thirteen or fourteen years. Now we know very well that Handel (like all who are privileged by Nature) was a man when still very young, and that he showed himself bold and full of spirit; but admitting all this, it is not a lad of thirteen or fourteen years who would be likely to usurp the rights of another under such circumstances. Another thing: it is Mattheson (who was born in 1681) who relates the journey to Lubeck, and the famous condition about marrying the organist's daughter. But if his companion had been only fourteen years old, whilst he himself was seventeen, Mattheson, who was a jocular writer, would not have failed to note the amusing situation of two candidates of that age being called upon to fulfil such an obligation.

And again, if Handel had written four operas at Hamburg—*Almira, Nero, Daphne,* and *Florinda*—between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, can it be supposed that during the six years of his sojourn in Italy (from eighteen to twenty-four), when his reputation was constantly increasing, he produced only two operas, *Roderigo* and *Agrippina,* two short oratorios, the *Resurreczione* and *Il Trionfo del Tempo,* and one serenata, *Galatea?* Everything goes to establish the fact that Mainwaring was in error.

As for Hawkins, he also states that Handel produced *Almira* at Hamburg in 1698, when he was fourteen years old, and that he remained three years in Hamburg, until 1701. Moreover (according to his account), Handel told him that he was not twenty years old when he arrived in Hanover, *after his journey into Italy;* which brings us to 1703. He also fixes the period of his arrival in London at 1710.

According to this calculation, Handel remained six years and a half at Hanover before coming to England. But no one has asserted that he produced anything in Hanover, and it cannot be credited that a young man, endowed with a most pregnant genius, could have lived for more than a lustrum without producing something. This chronology, besides, fixes the journey to Italy at from 1701 to 1703, whilst the manuscripts signed at Rome and Naples are dated 1707 and 1708. On the other hand, Mattheson declares positively that Handel came to Hamburg "in the month of July, 1703," and he transcribes some lines of a letter which Handel wrote to him from that city "on the 18th of March, 1704," and requesting him to return speedily from Holland, whither he had gone upon a journey. Hawkins pretends to have been told by Handel himself that he was not twenty years old when he arrived at Hamburg, "after his journey into Italy;" but the manuscripts, positively dated "Rome, 1707" and "1708," give him twenty-two or twenty-three years before he went to Hanover. Hawkins is a sincere writer, whom I would not depreciate on any account, and he certainly deserves confidence for his laborious compilations; but it is necessary to examine what he says. Like Mainwaring, he

necessary (*Gia grida la tromba*—"The trumpet now is sounding"), it is a hautboy that plays the principal part of the accompaniment. The trumpet, which is one of the most ancient

wrote somewhat too quickly, and made many mistakes even in his personal statements.

The next witness is Burney. He had read Mattheson, but he knew, besides, that the pupil of Sackau, after a journey through Italy, Germany, and Holland, and a residence in Hanover, arrived in London about the end of 1710. By way of conciliating, he effects a compromise. He brings him to the Hanseatic town exactly in 1703; takes him to Florence in the middle of 1708; places in 1709 the tour to Venice, Naples, and Rome; and keeps him at Hanover only long enough to accept the office of chapel-master to the Elector on the condition of returning as soon as he had seen England. But, apart from the contradiction which the signatures at Rome and Naples give to this, it is evident that Burney's statement is not rational. How could the young Saxon, already celebrated, visit Rome, Venice, and Naples—the three great Capitals of music—and compose an opera, a serenata, and two oratorios in less than a year? How could he make his appearance in Hanover, and then leave immediately? Burney himself says (agreeing on this point with Mainwaring and Hawkins), "he came to London, in compliance with an invitation from several English noblemen with whom he had made acquaintance at the court of Hanover." He must necessarily have remained at this court for at least six months, if not "a year," as Mainwaring has it, in order to receive the "invitations" which determined him to make the journey; besides which, it is not likely that the Elector would deprive himself immediately of a chapel-master whom he had attached to himself.

The statements of M. Fétis, in the article on Handel, in his *Biographie Universelle des Musicians*, now remain to be discussed.

According to him, after *Almira* and *Nero* had been produced at Hamburg, Handel went, during the earlier part of 1707, to Rome, where he remained some time beyond the 8th of April, 1708—the day on which the *Resurreczione* appeared; then he returned to Hamburg, and *Florinda* and *Daphne* were produced there in 1708. In the beginning of 1709 he returned to Italy, and in the same year he produced *Roderigo* at Florence, *Agrippina* at Venice, and *Il Trionfo del Tempo* at Rome. He did not leave Rome for Naples until 1710; he wrote *Acige e Galatea* at Naples; then he passed through many other towns in Italy, seeking for employment; but not finding any, he returned to Germany, and, stopping on his way at Hanover, he there engaged himself as chapel-master, but set out again immediately, "because he wished to visit London;" and, finally, having visited his mother at Halle, and having passed through Dusseldorf and Holland, he arrived in London in the month of December of the same year, 1710.

If, however, we consider the length of the journey which M. Fétis makes Handel perform in less than a year, it must be admitted that even in these days of steam-engines and railways it would not be easy to travel so quickly. Mr. Townsend, in the course of his researches as to the great composer's visit to Dublin, found this note in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1742:—"The Duke of Devonshire [he was then Viceroy of Ireland] arrived in London on the 20th, having occupied five days in the journey between Dublin and London." Mr. Townsend, who quotes this note in order to show what was "the rate of viceregal travelling in those days," adds, from an Irish journal, that "at Parkgate the Duke took post, there being sixteen relais of horses on the road for his Grace."—(*Faulkner's Journal*, February 16th to 20th, 1742.) When viceroys, with a favourable wind and sixteen relays of horses, required five days to travel from Dublin to London, a poor musician

of instruments, was certainly not unknown to Handel (there is one used in *Silla*, which he wrote shortly afterwards at Rome); and all that we can suppose is, that at that time a trumpeter was not to be found in Tuscany!

After being entertained by Prince Gaston, Handel went on to Venice in January, arriving about the beginning of the Carnival of 1707. There he made the acquaintance of Steffani, Domenico Scarlatti, Gasparini, and Lotti. The Venetians wished to have a work from their renowned guest, and "in three weeks" he wrote *Agrippina*, which was received with enthusiasm, the theatre resounding with acclamations and cries of "*Viva il caro Sassone!*"—"Long live the dear Saxon!"[1] According to the same authority, it was in *Agrippina* that Handel first introduced the French-horn, which had been lately invented in France, but was almost unknown to the Italians. This appears to have been the general opinion in 1760, for we find the following note at the end of Mainwaring's book, as coming from "a gentleman who is a perfect master of the subject:"—"It is, I believe, an undoubted fact, that French-horns were never used there [in Italy] as an accompaniment to the voice till Handel introduced them." But this "undoubted fact" is disproved by the best of all authorities—the score of *Agrippina* itself, in which nothing at all resembling the French-horn is to be found. *Water Music*, of 1715, is the first work by Handel in which this instrument is to be met with, and he did not use it again before 1720, in *Radamisto*. And this long in-

like Handel could not, a quarter of a century before, have travelled over a part of Italy, Germany, and Holland, and have crossed the sea twice, in less than a year, and have composed the scores of four works into the bargain. Moreover, how can we credit the long excursion of a year and a-half into Italy, made during his stay at Hamburg, from 1707 to 1708? Can it be possible that Mattheson was ignorant of that journey, or that, knowing it, he passed it over in silence, when he did not even forget the little excursion to Lubeck? But, in fact, we know of a certainty that Handel visited Naples in 1708, and not in 1710. These objections serve to convince me that M. Fétis was mistaken.

After what has been said, if the different elements furnished by the three English authors, and by authentic dates, be combined, the chronological order which I have adopted is the result. It reconciles many of their assertions, it satisfies the reason upon points as to which history gives no certainty, and it agrees very well with all the ascertained facts.

[1] Mainwaring.

terval is not surprising, when we remember that, with the exception of the English serenata, *Acis and Galatea*, he wrote nothing but sacred compositions between *Water Music* and *Radamisto*. It is true that there are French-horns in what Walsh has published of *Pastor Fido*, but they only occur in the additions made in 1734 to the old score of 1712.

Being doubtless desirous of assisting at the celebrated Easter festivities of the Eternal City, the *Caro Sassone* (as the Venetians called him) quitted them after a stay of three months, and arrived in Rome on the 4th of April, 1707. Among the MSS. at Buckingham Palace, there is a *Dixit Dominus*, which bears this date, and a *Laudate Pueri*, dated on the 8th of July in the same year. The oratorio of the *Resurreczione* is also dated "Roma, 4 d'Aprile, 1708." It is clear, therefore, that Handel remained at Rome for at least one year. It is probable that during that time he wrote *Silla*, an opera entirely unknown, of which no author makes any mention, and of which I have found many original fragments in the MSS. in Buckingham Palace, besides a complete copy. According to all appearance, *Silla* was never produced; and Mr. Lacy has discovered that Handel used at least a third part of this opera for his *Amadigi*, in 1715. In the "Catalogue," under the date 1707, will be found a table of comparison for the two works. The air for the ghost of Dardanus, in *Amadigi*—"Han penetrato i detti tuoi," of which Burney says, "here we have Handel's idea of the manner in which a ghost would sing"—is identical with the air of Claudio in *Silla*—"Se'l mio mal da voi depende." *Silla* and *Roderigo* have no other choruses but the final ones, like almost all the early operas by the same author. It was not the custom in his time to give more.

Here it may be mentioned, that besides the violins and the violas, "due flauti, due traversiere, due bassons, due trombe e cembalo,"[1] the MS. of the *Resurreczione* puts on the bass-line a "viola da gamba," a "teorba," an "arci-liuto,"[2] "violoncelli,"

[1] Two flutes, two German flutes, two bassoons, two trumpets, and a harpsichord.

[2] The *viola da gamba* (leg-viol) was a large viol, which was held upon the knee. It has been replaced by the violoncello. The *teorba* or *teorbo* (Handel makes

and "violoni." The "violone" is the first name which was given by the Italians to the "contra-basso," or double-bass. As "violoncelli" and "violoni" are plural, there must have been at least two violoncellos and two double-basses; and this supposes a very large orchestra, for the number of violins must have been in proportion to the bass-line. Here, also, we have an indubitable proof that the violoncello was used in Italy in 1708, and is of older date than the musical dictionaries assert.

From the memorandum of the *Resurreczione*, it appears that it was written in the house of the Marquis de Ruspoli. Young as he was, Handel also associated familiarly with Cardinal Pamphili: art and talent made them equals. This Cardinal had such an admiration for the young composer, that it is said he wrote some verses in which he called him Orpheus. It is also said that Handel set these verses to music. As there was something about Orpheus in them we may believe in the panegyric; but surely his pride must have been tempered with too much good sense to sing it himself. What is more certain is, that Pamphili wrote a little poem on the power of Time, *Il Trionfo del Tempo*, of which the Saxon Orpheus made an Oratorio; which was performed at the house of another Cardinal, Ottoboni, who had an orchestra at his own expense, conducted by Corelli, and who gave a great concert every week.

Handel was at every period of his life perfectly reasonable; but, according to his view, reason did not, as with little minds, consist in immobility. From the beginning, he was a daring composer, enterprising, fond of new ways, an avoider of beaten tracks. The score of *Il Trionfo del Tempo*, which was written at a period when even duets were still very rare, contained two long quartetts.

use of both words) was a sort of large guitar, rounded at the back; it is also used in the accompaniment to *Athalia*, produced in 1734. The *liuto* (lute) and *arci-liuto* (double lute) were also stringed instruments, belonging to the same family as the guitar. We find a *liuto* in the orchestration of Dryden's *Ode* and of *Hymen*, produced by Handel in 1739 and 1740. This was, perhaps, the last occasion of its appearance in the theatre.

The *Resurreczione* is printed in Arnold's edition of the Works of Handel;[1] *Il Trionfo del Tempo* is still unedited.

At Rome, Handel again met with Domenico Scarlatti, who was thought to be the best player on the harpsichord and the organ in all Italy, and Cardinal Ottoboni persuaded them to compete with each other. Upon the harpsichord the victory was doubtful, but upon the organ, Scarlatti himself confessed the superiority of his clever antagonist. This rivalship (be it said to the honour of both) did not prevent them from entertaining the greatest esteem for each other. Handel always spoke of Scarlatti in the highest terms, and Mainwaring states (upon the authority of the brothers Plas, two celebrated players on the hautboy, who came from Madrid, where they met with Scarlatti) that "so oft as he (Scarlatti) was admired for his great execution, he would mention Handel and cross himself in token of admiration."[2]

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1740, gives some curious information as to the splendour which surrounded the prelate, with whom Handel seems to have been familiar during his stay at Rome:—"Cardinal Ottoboni died on February 17, aged 72. He advanced to the purple at the age of 22. He died possessed of nine abbeys in the Ecclesiastical States, five in that of Venice, and three in that of France, which last only amounted to 56,000 livres per annum. He was Dean of the Sacred College, and in that quality Bishop of Velletri and Ostia, Protector of France, Archpriest of St. John de Lateran, and Secretary of the Office of the Inquisition. He had a particular inclination, when young, to music, poetry, and classical learning—composing airs, operas, and oratorios. He made the greatest figure of any of the cardinals; or, indeed, of any other person in Rome, for he had the soul of an emperor,[3] nor was there any princely notion but what he endeavoured to imitate, entertaining the people with comedies, operas, puppet-shows, oratorios, acade-

[1] For this edition, as for all others, see at the end of the "Catalogue," *Publication of the Works of Handel.*

[2] Mainwaring, p. 61.

[3] This cannot be doubted, since he was Secretary to the Inquisition.

mics, &c. He was magnificent in his alms, presents, and entertainments at festivals. In the ecclesiastical functions he likewise shewed great piety and generosity, and his palace was the refuge of the poor, as well as the resort of the virtuosi. In his own parish he entertained a physician, surgeon, and apothecary, for the use of all that wanted their assistance."

CHAPTER II.

1709—1720.

Conclusion of the Journey to Italy—"Aci e Galattea"—French Songs—Journey to Hanover—Arrival in London—Commencement of the Italian Opera in England—"Rinaldo"—Cantatas and Chamber Duets said to be composed in Hanover—Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday—Pastor Fido—Teseo—Utrecht Te Deum and Grand Jubilate—Thomas Britton—First Public Concerts in England—Handel settles in London—Water Music—"Amadigi"—Tableaux Vivants—Heidegger—Journey into Germany—Handel's German Oratorio, "The Passion"—He becomes Chapel-master to the Duke of Chandos—Chandos Anthems—The Character of Handel's Sacred Music.

It has already been shown that Handel was at Rome in April, 1708; and one of his manuscripts, belonging to the Granville family, and which has been shown to me by the kindness of the Lady of Sir Benjamin Hall, enables us to follow him with certainty to Naples. It is that of the chamber trio, "Se tu non lasci amor,"[1] and is clearly signed in the large handwriting which Handel then used, "G. F. Handel, li 12 Luglio, 1708, Napoli." A document so perfectly authentic affords a new starting-point in rectifying the errors committed respecting this part of Handel's life, and gives a great appearance of exactness to my conjectures as to preceding as well as subsequent periods. It is incontestable that he was at Naples on the 12th of July, 1708. According to all the authors, it was there that he wrote his Italian serenata, "*Aci, Galattea e Polifemo*" (the textual title of the MS.). In this, everything takes place between the three personages; there is neither any division of acts, nor chorus, nor even an over-

[1] On the back of this MS. the fortunate proprietor has written, "this original of Mr. G. F. Handell's own handwriting, was given by him to Mr. Bernard Granville, and is the only copy extant, as Mr. Handell told him when he gave it to him as an addition to his collection of music." The descendants of Bernard Granville still possess many manuscript letters by Handel, written from Dublin to their ancestor. Lady Hall reserves to herself the publication of these precious documents.

ture; at least according to the present state of the MS. It is, indeed, more of a cantata for three voices with an orchestra than a serenata; at any rate, it is not an opera, as Mr. Sterndale Bennett calls it in his preface to the English *Acis*, published by the Handel Society. But whatever may be the title, this composition, written by the author when only twenty-three years old, and still unedited, is far from meriting oblivion. According to Mr. Lacy's analysis, the introduction between Aci (*soprano*) and Galattea (*contralto*), "Sorge il dì," is full of grace, and its accompaniment is of exquisite delicacy. "Se m'ami o caro," which Handel introduced into *Pastor Fido*, and which Burney calls "extremely plaintive and elegant," has a very original accompaniment of two violoncellos and a double-bass. The air of Aci, "Che non può la gelosia," is profound in expression; and his death-song, "Verso già l'alma," is full of discordant harmonies and of the greatest ability. It may be indeed objected that it is rather too long for a dying man; but Handel would doubtless have replied like Voltaire, when a physician accused him of prolonging the death of Merope, "True, but you should recollect that she was not attended by a physician." The air, "Quì l'augel di pianta in pianta," is a charming little Sicilienne, with a hautboy *obligato* from one end to the other, sometimes giving an echo to the voice, and sometimes forming a duet with it, and always with infinite grace. When Handel produced his English *Acis* in 1732, he added to it many Italian pieces,[1] and, among others, this Sicilienne, for which he wrote a new accompaniment on the double-lute. Polifemo, who is well understood to be a basso, since he is a monster (and monsters, traitors, drunkards, tyrants, and soldiers are always bassos—poor bassos!), has a love-song, "Non sempre, no, crudele," entirely different from the celebrated "O ruddier than the cherry" of the English *Acis*, but which is certainly a not less happy piece of barbarity. Whoever sang the part of Polifemo had certainly the most extraordinary voice for which music has ever been composed, and Handel ought to have left his name for the curiosity and

[1] See "Catalogue."

astonishment of the world. One of his airs comprises a range of two octaves and five notes!

Whilst he was in Italy, Handel composed many pieces of sacred music for the Roman Catholic form of worship, which are still unedited.[1] Among others, there is a grand *Magnificat* with a double chorus, from which, thirty years afterwards, he drew five choruses and two duets for his *Israel in Egypt*. Thus it was that this extraordinary man found among the productions of his youth some things worthy to be added to the most powerful work of his genius in its maturity.

We have also belonging to this period seven French canzonets. The songs of France at that time pervaded the whole world, and were generally composed of simple and graceful words, such as would tempt him to compose music to them.[2] He did not, however, know enough of French to set the silent *e* pro-

[1] See "Catalogue," 1707-9.

[2] The following specimens will serve to justify this opinion :—

"Vous qui m'aviez procuré une amour eternelle
Vous que j'aimais si tendrement
Pouvez vous bien être infidelle
A votre plus fidelle amant.
Je devrois vous rendre le change
Je devrois vous haïr, ou je devrois changer
Mais si c'est par là qu'on se venge
Je ne veux jamais me vanger."

"Nos plaisirs seront peu durables,
Le destin a compté nos jours ;
Ne songeons qu' à les rendre aimables,
Puis qu'il les a rendus si courts," etc.

"Petite fleur brunette,
Aimable violette,
Que ne puis-je avec vous changer mon triste sort!
Vous languissez dans le sein de silvie
Je trouverois la vie
Où vous trouvez la mort."

"Sans y penser à Tirsis j'ai sceu plaire,
Sans y penser aussi Tirsis m'a sceu charmer.
Amour prend soin de cette affaire,
Il pourrait bien se dégager
Sans y penser."

perly to music, but he made many corrections in pencil at a subsequent period; and these emendations of such small matters, which were probably never destined by himself to see the light, afford a new proof of the indefatigable and conscientious perseverance with which he perfected the most insignificant of his works. Amongst them may be found a recitative of four lines which is quite worthy to be set apart—"Vous ne scauriez flatter ma peine." It is of splendid construction, and, what gives it a double interest, it is so much in the style of Gluck that one might suppose it to belong to that master. But Gluck did not exist then as a musician.

After having remained at Naples for a length of time, which is not precisely ascertained, the composer of Halle paid a second visit to Florence, Venice, and Rome, in search of employment;[1] but not finding any that suited him (for he was a Lutheran), he left Italy with an intention to settle in Germany, but without knowing exactly upon which town he should fix.[2] First of all he went to Hanover, with which he was as yet unacquainted; and this was probably about the autumn of 1709. The Elector George of Brunswick, afterwards George the First of England, was delighted to receive such a man in his principality, and offered to retain him as his chapel-master, at a salary of fifteen hundred ducats.[3] Hawkins[4] pretends, and some other biographers have repeated after him, that the Abbé Steffani voluntarily resigned this post in his favour; but it has been observed, with truth, that Steffani, who was a Catholic priest, could not have held such a position under a Protestant prince. What appears more probable is, that that graceful musician (who was a bishop, and a diplomatist in his hours of leisure) manifested a great deal of benevolence towards the young Saxon. But Handel, for his part, was not very desirous of occupying this post. At the court of the Elector he had already met some British noblemen, who had pressed him to visit England, and, being persuaded by them to undertake that journey, he did not wish to engage himself except upon the condition of being allowed to

[1] Mainwaring.
[2] Mainwaring, Hawkins, and Burney.
[3] About £300 sterling.
[4] Vide *History of Music* (Novello's Edition), page 673.

accomplish it. The condition was accepted, and he set out at the end of about ten months or a year. In the meantime, what had he produced at Hanover? It is difficult to suppose that he did not write something for the chapel of which he was director; but it is certain that nothing is known which bears this date.

In passing through Dusseldorf he could scarcely tear himself away, for the Elector Palatine wished to keep him at any price. Thence he went to Halle, to embrace his mother, who was now blind, and his good old master Sackau. Afterwards he visited Holland, and arrived in London at the close of 1710.

The fashionable world of London was at that time greatly interested in Italian music. In 1705, operas were given at Drury Lane Theatre "on the Italian model," that is to say, with dialogues in recitative. Among others, *Camilla* (the music of which was chiefly borrowed from Marco Antonio Bononcini, the brother of the celebrated Giovanni Bononcini) was produced on the 30th of April, 1706, and was published by Walsh. These early works, compilations of Italian music applied to English words, were sung by English artists. In January, 1708, they were removed to the theatre in the Haymarket,[1] for the *London Daily Post* announced, "by an agreement between Swiny and Rich, the Haymarket is to be appropriated to operas, and Drury Lane to plays."

In the latter end of 1708, the celebrated evirato, the Cheva-

[1] It may interest the reader to have some information concerning the different theatres, of which mention will be made in the course of this work.

The *Theatrical Register* (MS., in 4to.) notes that "in 1704, to advance the grand undertaking of a *new theatre*, thirty persons of quality subscribed each £100, and Queen Anne then granted a license to Sir John Vanburgh and Mr. Congreve to act operas and plays in the Haymarket Theatre." This great theatre in the Haymarket, called the King's, or Queen's Theatre, according to the sex of the reigning sovereign (and now called Her Majesty's Theatre), was opened "on the 9th of April, 1705." (Burg.)

The opening of a season for English operas at the new theatre in the Haymarket, which stood opposite to the "King's Theatre," is announced for the 16th in the *Daily Post* of the 2nd of November, 1732, "with a new opera, *Britannia*, set to music after the Italian manner, by Mr. Lampe." The "new theatre in the Haymarket" of the *Daily Post*, also called the "Little Theatre in the Haymarket" by other periodicals of the time, was built by Potter, and opened on the 29th of December, 1720. It stood opposite the "King's Theatre," very nearly on the site of the present Haymarket Theatre. Potter's theatre was pulled down in 1820, and was replaced

lier Nicolino Grimaldi, commonly called Nicolini, arrived in London. For him and for Valentini (an evirato, who had preceded him in March, 1707) was reproduced the *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* of Alessandro Scarlatti, "adapted to the English stage by Haym, who composed a new overture and additional songs, which have considerable merit."[1] They sang their parts in Italian, whilst the rest of the company sang in English. I have a copy of *Pyrrhus*, and one of Conti's *Clotilda* (issued immediately afterwards, in 1809), printed half in Italian and half in English, just as they were performed. Burney says, "I am very glad, for the honour of our country, that this absurdity was practised in other countries as well as in England; for Riccoboni, in his *General History of the Stage*, tells us that at Hamburg, in the early operas, sung in the Italian manner, *the recitativos were in the German language and the airs generally in Italian.*" Busby calls those macaronic pieces "gallimanfries."

by the present Haymarket Theatre, which was built by Nash during the same year. (See Timbs's *Curiosities of London*, p. 718.)

The Theatre of Lincoln's Inn Fields, also called the Duke's Theatre, was one of the most ancient in London. It was originally a Tennis Court; was opened as a theatre by Sir William Davenant, in 1662, and was refitted and reopened in 1695. (Malcolm's *London*, and Timbs's *Curiosities*.) An *Acis and Galatea*, by J. Eccles, was produced there in 1704. (See *Theatrical Register*.) The theatre was pulled down and rebuilt by Christopher Rich, a lawyer, who died before it was completed, and it was opened by his son, John Rich, the celebrated harlequin and manager, in 1714. (*Daily Post*, and Malcolm.) This theatre no longer exists.

The same John Rich it was who built Covent Garden Theatre by subscription, and opened it on the 7th of December, 1732, with Congreve's Comedy, *The Way of the World*. (Malcolm.) He managed it until the 27th of April, 1759, when he sold his privileges to O'Connell Thornton for £40,000 (*London Magazine*, April, 1759.) This theatre was burnt in the month of September, 1808, and the new one, which was built by Sir R. Smirke, was opened on the 18th of September, 1809. (*Biographia Dramatica*.) This theatre was destroyed by fire on the 5th of March, 1856.

Drury Lane is the most ancient of the existing London theatres. The theatre founded in 1663 was pulled down in 1791, and, having been rebuilt by Holland, was reopened on the 12th of March, 1794, "with a grand selection of sacred music from Handel's works, commencing with the Coronation Anthem." (*Biographia Dramatica*.) This theatre was burnt down on the 24th of February, 1809, and was replaced by the magnificent construction of Benjamin Wyatt, the plan of which was taken from the Bordeaux Theatre. This was opened on the 12th of October, 1812, and is now standing.

[1] *Vide* Burney. "Nicolo Francesco Haym was a native of Rome. He came to London about the year 1707, and engaged with Clayton and Dieupart, in the attempt to establish an Italian opera there." (*Musical Biography*, 1814, vol. ii.) He was afterwards the author of many librettos, which were set to music by Handel.

The first work which was sung entirely in Italian, and by Italian artists, was *Almahide*, by an unknown composer, which was produced at the Haymarket theatre in the month of January, 1710. The second was the *Hydaspes* of Mancini, given on the 3rd of May following; but in order not to take the audience too much out of their own country, national music was given between the acts. The *Daily Post* announces *Almahide*, "with English singing between the acts by Doggett, Mrs. Lindsay, and Mrs. Cross."

Everywhere and in everything there are the men of yesterday opposing the men of to-day; the conservative party acting as the eternal enemies of progress. These attacked, in every possible manner, "the extravagant innovation" of not singing foreign music, and above all Italian music, to English words. Addison, whom it is astonishing to find among them—Addison, who used himself to deride the Anglo-Italian operas, which he called "a confusion of tongues," attacked still more vehemently the "taste" of having a theatre in which not a word could be understood. He says, wittily enough, that the amateurs of this country, tired with only understanding the half of the piece, found it more convenient not to understand any; "it does not (says he) want any great measure of sense to see the ridicule of this monstrous practice."[1] Addison, in the *Spectator*, and his friend, Sir Richard Steele, in the *Tatler*, expended a great deal of wit upon this ungrateful theme. But, in spite of all this, the luxury of an Italian opera has not yet been abandoned; nor will it ever be in any civilized country. The audience think much less of the words that are sung than of the manner in which they are sung and set to the music. The poem only serves to indicate the situation; the words which express that are understood without difficulty, and it is easy to perceive whether the composer has properly interpreted them. The idiom of all operas, and of Italian operas especially, is the music—a universal idiom. Who knows the author who wrote the words of any single lyric masterpiece

[1] See *Spectator*, No. 18.

in Germany, France, or the banks of the Tiber? What libretto has been so good as to survive the failure of its score? Or what libretto so bad as to injure a fine score? Let the truth be spoken. In 1707, Addison produced at Drury Lane a *Rosamond* in English, with music composed by Thomas Clayton, who (according to Busby) had acquired, in the course of a journey to Rome, a little taste and a great deal of conceit. *Rosamond* had not more than three representations, and Burney does not attempt to conceal that the shafts of the *Spectator* against the Italians were intended by Addison to revenge the failure of his own *Rosamond*. It may be readily supposed, however, that the English musicians and singers agreed with Addison in his criticism on the Italian mania. Carey says, in speaking of a foreign songstress, whom he does not name—

> "With better voice and fifty times her skill,
> Poor *Robinson* is always treated ill;
> But, such is the good-nature of the town,
> 'Tis now the mode to cry the English down."

"Poor Robinson," however, was not so poor after all; for she left the stage, in 1724, to become the Countess of Peterborough. She had made her *début* in 1714, whilst still very young, as a soprano; but her voice deepened insensibly into a contralto.

But in spite of Addison, Steele, and Carey, London did not abandon its passion for Italian operas. The poet Aaron Hill, then the director of the Haymarket Theatre, regarded the advent of Handel as a godsend. He made an English libretto out of the episode of *Rinaldo and Armida*, in Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, which the chapel-master of Hanover set to music, whilst Giacomo Rossi translated it into Italian. Rossi was quite unable to keep pace with the composer, and the manner in which he asks pardon for the defects of his poem is rather humorous.[1] "The

[1] "Gradisci, ti prego, discretto lettore, questa mia rapida fatica, e se non merita le tue lodi, almeno non privarla del tuo compatimento, che dirò più tosto giustizia per un tempo cosi ristretto, poiche il Signor Hendel, Orfeo del nostro secolo, nel porla in musica, a pena mi diede tempo di scrivere; e viddi con mio gran stupore, in due sole settimane armonizata al maggior grado di perfezzione un opera intiera."—(Hawkins.)

Signor Hendel," says he, "the Orpheus of our age, in setting to music this lay from Parnassus, has scarcely given me time enough to write it, and I have beheld, to my great astonishment, an entire opera *harmonized* to the last degree of perfection, in the short space of a fortnight, by this sublime genius. I pray you then, discreet reader, to receive my rapid work, and if it does not merit all your praises, at least do not refuse it your compassion—I would rather say your justice, remembering how short a time I have had to write it in."

Aaron Hill dedicated *Rinaldo* to "Her Most Sacred Majesty Queen Anne:—

"Madam,—Among the numerous arts and sciences which now distinguish the best of nations, under the best of Queens, Music, the most engaging of the train, appears in charms we never saw her wear till lately; when the universal glory of your Majesty's illustrious name drew hither the most celebrated masters from every part of Europe.

"Madam,—This opera is a native of your Majesty's dominions, and was, consequently, born your subject," etc.

The author-manager, who declares it to be his object "to give to two senses an equal pleasure," spared no expense upon the mounting of the piece; and, among other innovations, he filled the gardens of Armida with living birds. Colley Cibber says, that "the elegance of the decorations and the beauty of the machinery were justly admired." Addison, however, was not among the number of admirers; he protested against a score, the composition of which had only occupied a fortnight; and he was very jocular about the live birds, which he called "sparrows." And wherefore? Do the laws of theatrical illusion absolutely require that theatrical birds should be of pasteboard? But the truth is, that *Rinaldo* was the third opera purely Italian which had been played in London, and that was three times as much as was necessary to attract the satiric lightning of the *Spectator*. Oh, *Rosamond!*

The first representation took place on the 24th of February, 1711, with immense success. Superior to anything that had

yet been heard, and bearing quite a new stamp, *Rinaldo* at once established the reputation of its author in this country. On its appearance, it was played fifteen times without intermission—a rare occurrence in those days. Like all the operatic heroes of that time, the part of Rinaldo is written for an evirato and, therefore, may be sung also by a woman contralto. It was revived in 1713, with Mrs. Barbier in Rinaldo; and, in 1714, Signora Diana Vico replaced Mrs. Barbier; Nicolini, the creator of this part, sang it again at Naples in 1718, after having reappeared in it at London in 1715 and 1717. *Rinaldo* was also taken to Hamburg in 1715. The author of *Almira* had left a great reputation in that place, where many of his works were performed, whether in Italian or translated into German.[1] The cavatina in the first act, "Cara sposa," was to be found in 1711 upon all the harpsichords of Great Britain, as a model of pathetic grace. The march was adopted by the regiment of Life Guards, who played it every day upon parade for forty years. According to Burney, it was the march in *Scipio* that had that honour; but that of *Rinaldo* may be found arranged for the harpsichord, under the title of "The Royal Guards' March," in the *Lady's Banquet*, a selection of music for the harpsichord, published in 1720.[2] Like the regiments themselves, marches have their days and their strokes of fortune; and this one, after a long and honourable existence, was subsequently pressed into the service of the highway robbers. Twenty years later, Pepusch made out of it the Robbers' Chorus in the *Beggar's Opera*—"Let us take road." The brilliant morceau in the second act of *Rinaldo*, "Il tri-Cerbero," was also set to English words, "Let the waiter bring clean glasses," and was a long time the most popular song at all merry-makings. But what shall be said of "Lascia che io pianga?" Stradella's divine air, "I miei sospiri," has

[1] See Mattheson. *Amadigi*, under the name of *Oriana*, in 1717; *Agrippina*, 1718; *Radamisto*, under the name of *Zenobia*, 1721; *Muzio* and *Floridante*, in 1723; *Tamerlane*, *Giulio Cesare*, and *Ottone*, 1725; *Ricardo*, 1729; *Ammeto*, 1730; *Rodelinda*, 1734; and *Poro*, under the name of *Cleofida*, 1732. It seems that the people of Hamburg were not fond of masculine names to operas.

[2] See "Catalogue"—Article, *Rinaldo*, 1711.

nothing more moving or more profoundly tender. It has been asserted that in music the *beau ideal* changes every thirty years; but that is an ill-natured criticism. Certain forms of accompaniment may grow out of fashion, like the cut of a coat; but a fine melody remains eternally beautiful and always agreeable to listen to. The Hundredth Psalm of the Middle Ages is as magnificent to-day as it was when, three or four centuries ago, it came from the brain of its unknown composer; and so "Lascia che io pianga," and "I miei sospiri," will be admirable and admired to the end of the world.

Walsh, the publisher, was said to have gained £1500 sterling from the publication of *Rinaldo*, which drew from Handel this complaint:—"My dear Sir, as it is only right that we should be upon an equal footing, *you* shall compose the next opera, and *I* will sell it."[1] *Rinaldo* was sung by a company exclusively Italian. Boschi, the basso, distinguished himself, it would appear, by a voice of great volume, and a vigorous style of acting. In a satire against the prevailing taste for harlequinades ("Harlequin Horace, or the Art of Modern Poetry," 1735) may be found this line—

"And Boschi-like, be always in a rage;"

with this note:—"A useful performer, for several years in the *Italian* operas, for if any of the audience chanced unhappily to be lulled to sleep by these soothing entertainments, he never failed of rousing them up again, and by the extraordinary fury both of his voice and action, made it manifest that, though only a tailor by profession, he was *nine* times more a *man* than any of his fellow-warblers."

After staying six or seven months in London, the young Chapel-master of the Court of Hanover was obliged to return to his post; but he was not permitted to go before the English Court and the public had expressed the greatest regret at losing him; and Queen Anne, who admitted him to take a farewell leave, made him promise to return as soon as he could obtain the permission of his Sovereign.

[1] Hawkins.

On his way back, he again found time to pay a visit and embrace his dear mother; and according to the registers of Notre Dame de St. Laurent, at Halle, we find that in the year 1711 he stood godfather in that church to his niece, Johanna Michaelsen.[1]

Hughes's "Correspondence" furnishes the following documents, which may be given textually:—

MR. RONER[2] TO MR. HUGHES.[3]

"Ce Mardi, 31st Juillet, 1711.

"MONSIEUR,—Ayant reçeu ce matin une lettre de Mr. Hendel, j'ai crû ne devoir pas manquer à vous en communiquer aussitôt un extrait qui vous regarde et qui est une réponse au compliment dont vous m'aviez bien voulu charger. Je lui écrirai Vendredi prochaine; ainsi, vous n'aurez, si vous plait, qu' à m'envoyer ce que vous aurez destiné pour lui; et je puis, Monsieur, vous assurer que si l'honneur de votre souvenir lui fait un sensible plaisir, je n'en sens pas moins par le moyen que j'aurai par la de faciliter votre correspondance et de vous donner une preuve de la considération extréme avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'etre, Monsieur, votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur, "A. RONER."

Extrait de la Lettre de M. Handel.

"Faites bien mes compliments a Mr. Hughes. Je prendrai la liberté de lui ecrire avec la prémiere occasion. S'il me veut cependant honorer de ses ordres, et d'y ajouter une de ses charmantes poésies en Anglois, il me fera le plus sensible grace. J'ai fait, depuis que je suis parti de vous, quelques progrés dans cette langue," etc.[4]

[1] Förstemann.

[2] Andrew Roner, a German. He was a music-master and something of a composer.

[3] John Hughes, an agreeable poet, painter, and musician. He died in 1720.

[4] MR. RONER TO MR. HUGHES.

"Tuesday, 31st July, 1711.

"SIR,—Having this morning received a letter from Mr. Handel, I thought it my duty to communicate to you, as soon as possible, an extract which concerns you,

After his return to Hanover, it is generally said that Handel composed there for the Princess Caroline (the step-daughter of the Elector) the thirteen chamber duets and the twelve cantatas printed in Arnold's edition. There are one hundred and fifty cantatas and twenty-four chamber-duets by him, and it would be difficult to determine the precise pieces which were produced at the little German Court. Mainwaring opines that the words of the twelve cantatas, which are supposed to have been written at Hanover, were written there by the Abbé Hortentio Mauro; but then it is necessary to suppose that the Elector George (who had already the Abbé Steffani with him) must have had a predilection for Catholic priests, such as few Lutheran princes usually entertain. The thirteen duets contain thirty-five strophes, or different movements; the twelve cantatas include twenty-five recitatives and twenty-eight airs.

Whether these works were composed at Hanover or not, Handel produced nothing else while he remained there. But, indeed, his stay was not very long. The place was too small for that mighty genius, and he could not forget the triumphs of London: so he demanded a new leave of absence, and reappeared in England in the month of January, 1712, at the latest; for his *Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday* (which Burney dates 1713) was sung on the 6th of February, 1712. All

and which is a reply to the compliment which you wished to send by me. I shall write to him on Friday next, and therefore, if you please, you have only to send me whatever you intend for him, and I can assure you, Sir, that if the honour of remembering you gives him such pleasure, I cannot feel less on account of the means which I shall thereby have for facilitating your correspondence, and for giving you a proof of the extreme consideration with which I have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble and most obedient servant, "A. Roner."

Extract from Mr. Handel's Letter.

"Pray give my compliments to Mr. Hughes. I shall take the liberty of writing to him by the first occasion. In the meantime, if he will honour me with his commands, and will add to them one of his charming poems in English, he will do me the greatest kindness. Since I have left you, I have made some progress in the language," &c.

[1] Queen Anne was born in London on the 6th of February, 1664. It is curious enough that among so many historical works, of which the lives of Kings and Queens form the only pivot, this date is very difficult to find. I am indebted to Dr. Rimbault for it. In the *Daily Journal*, for the 7th of February, 1733, may be read—"Yesterday, being the birthday of her late Majesty Queen Anne," &c.

the authors concur in stating that he remained in Hanover one year, and it certainly seems not a little extraordinary that the Elector should have permitted his chapel-master to escape from him again so quickly; but the evidence of authentic documents is not to be resisted. The *Theatrical Register*, for "March 22, 1712, N.S." (New Style), announces:—"For Signor Nicolini's Benefit. The music performed before the Queen on her birthday, and the famous scene in *Thomyris*, by Scarlatti." Although the name of Handel does not appear here, the date suggested by Burney, and the precise date given in the *Theatrical Register*, are too near to each other to permit us to doubt that it was any other than *his* ode, composed of airs, duets, and choruses, which Nicolini sung on the 22nd of March, 1712. Without being able to discover whence it was that Burney obtained his date of 1713, it is probable that he adopted it in order to agree with the general opinion that Handel spent an entire year in Hanover. The journals of the epoch do not make any mention of the work, and the original MS. (by exception) is undated. Eccles also composed an Ode for the birthday of Queen Anne; but that was in 1707, or, at any rate, it was published in that year by Walsh; and it is not likely that it would have preserved its renown until 1712, sufficiently to serve for the attraction at a benefit; and if (as is probable) it was Handel's Ode, it belongs still more certainly to February, 1712, since Nicolini quitted England in June, 1712.[1] He was replaced by Valeriano, the creator of the principal parts in *Pastor Fido*, which was produced on the 21st of November following; and in *Theseus*, produced on the 10th of January, 1713.

The production of the former of these operas took place (says Colman) "at the usual price—of boxes, 8*s.*; pit, 5*s.*; and gallery, 2*s.* 6*d.*" According to the same authority, at the early performances of *Theseus*, "boxes and pit together" were half a guinea, and afterwards "at the usual price." The usual prices of places were, therefore, at that time, 8*s.* for the boxes, 5*s.* for the pit, and 2*s.* 6*d.* for the gallery—something less than one-half of what they are to-day; but the managers had the right to risk

[1] *Spectator*, 14th June, 1712; quoted by Burney, page 233.

an augmentation whenever they deemed it necessary. *Pastor Fido* was dedicated by Giacomo Rossi, the author of the libretto, "to the most illustrious Lady Anna Cartwright." It was often revived, and underwent many alterations during its long career. An analysis of these will be given in the "Catalogue."

Mattheson says that the English sovereigns could not have a foreign chapel-master, and that on the 29th of August, 1729, he received from the Crown-office, at Whitehall, a note, stating that the King had given to his chapel-master, John Eccles, Esq., and to each of the thirteen musicians under his orders, the following livery, which was annually bestowed upon them:—"Fourteen yards of camlet, to make a long clerical robe; three yards of black velvet for the borders of the robe; a fur lining in lambskin; eight yards of black damask for a coat; eight of fine cotton for the lining of the coat; three yards of velvet for a waistcoat, or *justaucorps;* and three yards of parget for the lining of the same." It appears certain, therefore, that in England music was formerly encouraged as a trade, since foreign productions were officially excluded. In Arbuthnot's satire, *Harmony in an Uproar* (1733), an account is given of a journey to the moon, during which the author becomes composer to the opera-house in the moon:—"And I should have enjoyed the same station in the court chapels and public temples, only that place could not be conferred upon a foreigner. Yet, upon all solemn occasions, they were obliged to have recourse to me for their religious music, though their ordinary services were all composed and performed by blockheads that were natives; they claiming, from several laws, a right hereditary to have the places in their temples supplied with fools of their own country." This was Handel's own story, told in Voltaire's style; for *Rinaldo* and *Pastor Fido* had already gained for him so much reputation, that when the Peace of Utrecht was concluded, on the 31st of March, 1713, he was selected (in spite of the barbarous law), before all the native musicians, and before Eccles, the official composer of the chapel royal, to write the songs for the solemn thanksgiving. The *Te Deum* and grand *Jubilate* which he composed for that

occasion are still distinguished by the name "Utrecht." In spite of their Latin titles, they are in English, according to the usage of the Anglican Church.

Apart from their intrinsic beauty, these two great works were altogether novelties for England. In the article "Te Deum," in *Rees's Cyclopædia*, we are told, "Handel's elaborate composition, so new, forcible, and masterly, must have had a great effect on an English congregation, who never heard ecclesiastical music so accompanied. Instrumental music, except organ-playing, was but little cultivated in our country during Purcell's time. But Handel, besides his experience in Germany, had heard operas and masses performed by great bands in Italy with such effects as were unknown in our country till he came hither to teach us."

The *Te Deum* and the *Jubilate* were executed on the 7th of July, 1713; it is not precisely known where. Queen Anne does not seem to have had much regard for her parliament. The *Post Boy* of the 2nd of July announces that "Her Majesty, accompanied by the Houses of Lords and Commons, goes the 7th to St. Paul's, being the day appointed for the thanksgiving." But the same journal of the 4th instant informs the public that "Her Majesty does not go to St. Paul's, July the 7th, as she designed, but comes from Windsor to St. James's, to return thanks to God for the blessings of peace."[1] It remains, however, to be ascertained whether the music, and the Houses of Lords and Commons, left the metropolitan cathedral in order to follow the Queen to the chapel of St. James's. Nevertheless, the Queen rewarded Handel very munificently with a pension for life of £200.[2]

His success as harpsichordist was equal to that which he enjoyed as a composer. He very often played solos in the theatre. In the edition of *Rinaldo*, Armida's air, "Vò far Guerra," is printed "with the harpsichord piece performed by Mr. Hendel." A representation of *Teseo* is advertised for the 16th of May, 1713, "for the benefit of Mr. Hendel, with an

[1] Rees's *Cyclopædia*—Article, "Te Deum."

[2] *Anecdotes*, page 15.

entertainment for the harpsichord."[1] He played also at the house of Thomas Britton, a man who deserves particular mention.

Thomas Britton belonged to that class of men whom persons of limited views are accustomed to term *the lower orders* of society, for he gained his daily bread by crying small-coal, which he carried about the streets in a sack upon his shoulders. He lived near Clerkenwell Green, a quarter of the town with which fashionable people were scarcely acquainted before he made it illustrious. How it came to pass that he learnt to play upon the *viola da gamba*[2] is not known; but he played upon it, and he was so much of an artist, that he grouped around him a number of amateurs, who were happy to perform concerted music under his direction. Hawkins has collected many of their names:—John Hughes, the author of *The Siege of Damascus;* Bannister, the violinist; Henry Needler, of the Excise-office; Robe, a justice of the peace; Sir Roger L'Estrange, gentleman; Woolaston, the painter; Henry Symonds; Abiell Wichello; and Obadiah Shuttleworth. At first they admitted their friends to these reunions, and little by little the circle of auditors increased, until it included some of the most distinguished persons in the town. Britton was the tenant of a stable, which he divided horizontally by a floor; on the ground-floor was his coal-shop. The upper storey formed a long and narrow room, and it was in this chamber (in which it was scarcely possible to stand upright, and where, when he had escaped the dangers of the little dark winding staircase, the visitor found no sort of convenience) that the first meetings in the nature of private concerts, took place in England, and instrumental music was first played regularly. Here it was that from 1678 to 1714 (the period of his death), the itinerant small-coal merchant weekly entertained the intelligent world of London at his musical soirées, always gratuitously. Among others, the Duchess of

[1] See *Theatrical Register.*

[2] It is, therefore, an error to suppose that the *viola da gamba* was introduced into England by Attilio in 1721. The instrument which he imported was the *viol d'amour.*

Queensbury, one of the most celebrated beauties of the court, was very regular in her attendance. All newly-arrived artists were ambitious to appear there. Dubourg,[1] the violinist, played there immediately on his arrival, when he was from nine to eleven years old. Pepusch and Handel played the harpsichord and the organ there. Hawkins mentions, as a proof of the great consideration which Britton acquired, that he was called "Sir;" and many persons, unable to believe that a man of that class, and of such a business, could arrive, by natural means, to be called "Sir," took him for a magician, an atheist, and a jesuit.[2] The small-coal dealer was indeed something of a magician, inasmuch as he was fond of old manuscripts, of which he bought as many as his business would permit him do. At his death (in September, 1714) he left behind him a very fine collection—the catalogue of which was printed—and also a great many instruments, among which was a harpsichord and "an organ, fit for a room." Woolaston painted two portraits of his friend Britton, and Hawkins has given one of them among the portraits in his *History of Music*. This extraordinary man is represented in a kind of dustman's hat, a blouse, and a neckerchief knotted like a rope.

John Bannister, of whom Crosse says that he was "the first Englishman who distinguished himself on the violin," had attempted something like a public concert in 1672. In the *Memoirs of Musick*, by Roger North (Attorney-General under James the Second), we are told:—"The next essay was of the elder Bannister, who had a good theatrical vein, and in composition had a lively style peculiar to himself. He procured a large room in Whitefryars, near the Temple back gate, and made a large raised box for the musicians, whose modesty required curtains. The room was rounded with seats and small tables, ale-house fashion. One shilling was the price, and

[1] Dubourg, who afterwards attached himself to Handel, was, like him, a precocious boy. The *Theatrical Register* has an advertisement for the 19th of April, 1716, of "A concert for Mr. Mathieu Dubourg, the youth of thirteen years of age."

[2] The word "jesuit" is evidently put last by Hawkins, in obedience to the law of gradation, as being the most terrible of the three.

call for what you pleased; there was very good musick, for Bannister found means to procure the best hands in towne, and some voices to come and perform there; and there wanted no variety of humour, for Bannister himself (*inter alia*) did wonders upon flageolett to a thoro' base, and the severall masters had their solos. This continued full one winter, and more I remember not."

Hawkins[1] extracts the advertisement of these concerts from the *London Gazette* for the 30th of September, 1672:— "These are to give notice, that at Mr. John Banister's house (now called the musick-school), over against the George Tavern, in White Fryers, this present Monday will be musick performed by excellent masters, beginning precisely at four of the clock in the afternoon, and every afternoon for the future, precisely at the same hour."

But to continue. When Handel found himself in London, sought after, admired, and in universal request, he could never make up his mind to return to Hanover; and thus he was guilty of forgetting his promise, in order to remain upon a stage more proportioned to the power and activity of his mind. It was for this reason that he was in no great hurry to present himself to the new King, when the Elector George of Brunswick succeeded Queen Anne, who died on the 1st of August, 1714. George the First arrived in England on the 18th of September, 1714, and was crowned at Westminister on the 20th of October following. He was all the more irritated against his truant chapel-master for having written the *Te Deum* on the Peace of Utrecht, which was not favourably regarded by the Protestant princes of Germany. A Hanoverian baron named Kilmanseck, a great admirer of Handel and a friend of George the First, undertook to bring them together again. Being informed that the King intended to picnic upon the river Thames, he requested the artist to compose something for the occasion. Handel wrote the twenty-five little pieces of concerted music known under the name of *Water Music*, and caused them to be executed in a

[1] Page 763.

barge which followed the royal boat. The orchestra was somewhat numerous; for it consisted of four violins, one viol, one violoncello, one counter-bass, two hautboys, two bassoons, two French-horns, two flageolets, one flute, and one trumpet. King George had no difficulty in recognizing the author of the symphonies, and he felt his resentment against Handel begin to soften. Shortly afterwards, Geminiani, the violinist, a celebrated pupil of Corelli's school, was about to play in the King's private cabinet some sonatas which he had composed, but fearing that they would lose much of their effect if they were accompanied in an inferior manner, he expressed a desire to be assisted by Handel. Kilmanseck carried the request to the King, supporting it strongly with his own recommendation; and eventually George the First consented, and, to seal the peace, added a pension of £200 to that which the fugitive from Hanover already held from the bounty of Queen Anne. Handel was subsequently appointed music-master to the daughters of the Prince of Wales (afterwards George the Second), and for this he received out of the privy-purse of the Princess (afterwards Queen Caroline) a third pension of £200. The excellent Kilmanseck, who rendered this good service to Handel, was somewhat of a composer. In the *Lady's Banquet* there are two or three little pieces for the harpsichord by him.

The water-party which has been mentioned, was quite a fête. Malcolm has given an account of it in his chatty book:—"August 22, 1715.—The King, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and a large party of nobility, went in barges with music from White Hall to Limehouse. When they returned in the evening, the captains of shipping suspended lanterns in their rigging, and the houses on both sides of the river were illuminated, and incredible number of boats filled with spectators attended the royal party, and cannons were continually fired during the day and evening." Malcolm mentions another splendid aquatic procession of the same kind which took place in July, 1717, for which he says Handel expressly composed music. This is a mistake. *Water Music* was perhaps repeated in 1717, but it was written for the party

of August, 1715, since it served to reconcile the composer and the King shortly after George the First's accession to the throne. Besides, as will presently be seen, Handel did not pass the year 1717 in England.

But before his reconciliation with the King, that is to say, in the month of May, 1715, he had produced at the theatre in the Haymarket a new opera, *Amadigi*, which gave occasion to great efforts in the way of decoration and costumes. Advertised for Saturday, the 21st of May, it was put off to the 25th, "all the clothes and scenes being new, with variety of dancing;" and on the 25th of May, the day of its first representation, the following advertisement appeared:—"And whereas there *is* a great many scenes and machinery to be moved in this opera, which cannot be done if persons should stand on the stage, where they could not be without danger, it is therefore hoped nobody, even the subscribers, will take it ill that they must be deny'd entrance on the stage."[1]

In the eighteenth century, when manners were so corrupted and the language was so full of oaths, another vulgarity was in vogue—a taste for parodies. There was nothing so serious as not to be immediately turned into ridicule, and at the little theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields a burlesque *Amadis* was immediately produced, "with all the sinkings, flying, and usual decorations. And whereas there is many scenes," &c., &c.

Amongst the decorative novelties at the King's Theatre a certain fountain seems to have made a great sensation, according to the following advertisement:—"June 20th, 1716. By Command. For the instrumental musick, *Amadis*—with all scenes and clothes belonging to the opera, *particularly the fountain scene*."[2] Fountains for the stage, with water, are perhaps, after all, only a revival of the invention of 1716; and it may be observed, by the way, that *tableaux vivants* are not very much more modern. The thing itself, if not the name, may be found in the advertisement of the *Daily Courant* for the 6th of April, 1710:—"For Betterton's benefit and last appearance, the *Maid's Tragedy*. To which will be added, three

[1] *Theatrical Register.* [2] Malcolm.

designs, representing the principal actions of the play, in imitation of so many great pieces of *history painting*, where all the real persons concerned in those actions will be placed at proper distances, in different positions, peculiar to the passion of each character. This has been often performed in the theatres abroad, but never yet attempted on the English stage." Burney, who speaks of *Amadis* as a masterpiece, quotes especially the air "S'estinto èl' idol mio;" and every one who has heard it will agree with him that it is one of the most magnificent of Handel's magnificent inspirations. He adds, "the bright and brilliant tone of the violins playing in octaves, from which so many pleasing effects have lately been produced, seems to have been first discovered by Handel in the accompaniment of the cavatina 'Sussurrate onde vezzose,' which must have delighted and astonished every hearer." The people of Rome had already, in 1708, enjoyed the novelty of 1715, for in the orchestration of the *Resurreczione* "violini all' ottava" occurs twice.

The poem of *Amadigi* is signed, in right of his authorship, by the new manager, James Heidegger, commonly called the "Swiss Count." He was said to be the ugliest man of his time; and his portrait, in that character, was engraved at least ten or twelve times. Lord Chesterfield wagered that it was impossible to discover a human being so disgraced by nature. After having searched through the town, a hideous old woman was found, and it was agreed that Heidegger was handsomer. But as Heidegger was pluming himself upon his victory, Chesterfield required that he should put on the old woman's bonnet. Thus attired, the Swiss Count appeared horribly ugly, and Chesterfield was unanimously declared the winner, amid thunders of applause.[1]

This man, who made so light of a joke at his own expense, dedicated the libretto of *Amadis* to the Earl of Burlington, saying that the music had been composed at the Earl's house.[2] The poem of *Teseo* is also dedicated to the same person by Nicolo Haym. Many of the great contested the honour of having the celebrated Saxon musician near them. In the first

[1] Malcolm. [2] Burney.

place, he passed an entire year at the house of a private gentleman (Mr. Andrews[1]), and afterwards (about the year 1716) he accepted the hospitality of Lord Burlington, requiting it by directing the musical soirées of that celebrated amateur, who had built for himself "a house in the middle of the fields," near the town. When the King asked him why he went so far to live, he replied that he was fond of solitude, and that he was certain that he had found a place where no one could come and build beside him. It is a hundred and thirty years since he said this. The aristocratic quarter was then in the Strand and Charing Cross; yet Piccadilly, where the house of this solitary lord is to be found, is now one of the most central and fashionable spots in London. At the house of this nobleman, Handel acquired the friendship of Pope, Gay, and the shrewd Arbuthnot, who sided with him in the day of trial. Gay, in his prosaic poem, *Trivia; or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London*, has seized the occasion, in passing before the "fair palace" of Piccadilly, to record the fact of Handel's residence there :—

> "There Hendel strikes the strings, the melting strain
> Transports the soul, and thrills through every vein;
> There oft I enter."
>
> *Trivia*, book ii.

Handel wrote one of the six hautboy concertos specially for a representation of *Amadis* given on the 20th of June, 1716, for the benefit of the orchestra.[2] From that time up to 1718, all trace of him in England is lost. Did he remain with Lord Burlington, inactive and dumb, during all that space of time? There are many proofs to induce us to believe the contrary.

In the *Anecdotes of Handel and Smith*[3] it is recorded that "when Handel arrived at Anspach, in 1716, J. C. Smith renewed an acquaintance which had commenced at Halle, and soon became so captivated with that great master's powers that he accompanied him to England, where he regulated the expenses of his public performances, and filled the office of treasurer with great fidelity." This Smith was the father of Christo-

[1] *Anecdotes*, page 16. [2] Burney and Colman. [3] Page 37.

pher Smith, who was born in 1712, and whose name is associated with that of the composer in the title-page of these "Anecdotes." As this little work (which is dedicated to Peter Coxe) is very generally attributed to the Reverend William Coxe, who was the stepson of Smith, it evidently embodies many family recollections,[1] and it is difficult to believe that this account given of the arrival in London of the first Smith is not a faithful tradition. It appears, moreover, so natural to the writer that he does not even take the trouble to explain the presence of the composer at Anspach. Mattheson, for his part, says in the *Ehren-Pforte:*— "In 1717, Handel was at Hanover with the hereditary Prince Elector, now King of England. I received from him at this date letters, dated from Hanover, on the subject of my work upon the orchestra, which I had dedicated to him and other musicians." If we observe the coincidence of these assertions, proceeding from authors who had every opportunity of being well informed, and if we consider the *lacuna* which appears in the life of the composer precisely at this epoch, it seems almost certain that he passed in Germany at least a part of 1716 and 1717. The *Daily Courant* tells us that George the First went to Hanover on the 7th of July, 1716, and came back again on the 18th of January, 1717, and that the Prince of Wales went to meet him on his return home. The Prince of Wales was then Prince George, afterwards King George the Second. Mattheson must have made a mistake, for it was doubtless Frederick, the son of the future George the Second, who, at eleven years of age, was residing at Hanover. It accords with probability that Handel followed George the First to Hanover in July, 1716, and remained some time with Prince Frederick, after the return of the King into England.

It was probably during this stay in Hanover (in 1717) that he wrote his German oratorio, *The Passion*. Mattheson says:— "At Hamburg was played Handel's *Passion*, which he had

[1] In spite of that, however, it only merits a limited confidence. It was published in 1799, after the death of Smith, the son. The editor only wrote from memory, and, according to all appearance, he had no notes to refer to, for he commits many palpable mistakes. He does not even give the birthplace of Handel correctly, for, instead of Halle, he says that the great composer was born at Hall in 1786.

composed in England, and sent by the post in a score written very minutely. My oratorio was sung in 1718 in preference to his and to that of Telemann, although they were much older than mine." Handel's *Passion* was, therefore, executed in Hamburg before 1718 (probably in 1717), since Mattheson speaks of it as a recent thing. He affirms, it is true, that it was sent from England; but it has been shown that Handel was at Hanover about the middle of 1716 and during 1717.

It is, therefore, more probable that it was sent from Hanover, where the poem (written by "Brockes of Hamburg"[1]) would be addressed to him. This conjecture coincides with known facts; and if we refuse to entertain it—if the German *Passion* did not occupy Handel's time whilst he was at Hanover, he must have remained a year and something more without having produced anything whatever; for nothing else can be quoted as belonging to that epoch.

Whatever date it belonged to, however, this was a work whose very name is now almost unknown. Burney laconically quotes the three lines by Mattheson, without appearing to put any very great faith in them. At the end of his list of the works of Handel, he adds, with equal indifference, "in the collection of the Earl of Aylesford, formed by the late Mr. Jennens, are preserved in MS. many valuable works of our author, as . . . . *Oratorio della Passione.*" From this it is plain that he never saw this *Passion*, which he first makes out to be a German and then an Italian work. M. Fétis, who is the only one to mention the name of this oratorio after Burney, merely says that it has been printed by M.M. Breitkopf and Härtel of Leipsic; which is not true—for these gentlemen, in reply to reiterated inquiries after a copy, return for answer that their firm has never printed a *Passion* by Handel. In the Buckingham Palace collection, however, I have had the satisfaction of discovering a copy. It is easy to understand how it was that the composer only kept a copy for himself when the original was sent to Hamburg; but everything guarantees the authenticity of that copy.

When Handel was composing, it was his custom always

[1] Mattheson.

to speak Italian to himself, and out of ten memoranda on his MSS. nine are in that language. In that of *Athalia*, for example, he writes—"Què si replica con queste parole '*Bless the Church;*'" and in *Judas Maccabæus*, in the middle of the air "Lovely grace," which he changes into a duet, he writes—"Què commincia il duetto in vece dell' aria." This habit had been acquired when he wrote the German *Passion*, in the MSS. of which may be found, among other notes—"Segue la seconda strofa."

The oratorio of the same name which Jennens possessed confirms the exactness of Mattheson's note. Charles Jennens, the author of the words of *The Messiah* and of *Belshazzar* was intimate with Handel, and would certainly not have possessed a work bearing his name which was not perfectly authentic.

But there is something more decisive than all this. Madame Viardot, who is as excellent a linguist as she is accomplished as a musician, has examined for me the existing copy at Buckingham Palace. It is full of beauties entirely Handelian. Among others, the air of Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane, "Father, Father, have pity on me," is of incomparable grandeur; the anguish of sadness is depicted there with penetrating depth and moderation; the voice seems to be stifled with the excess of grief. May the lovers of music enjoy one day the pleasure of hearing it sung by Madame Viardot!

Henceforward, therefore, this oratorio must be enumerated among the works of the author of *The Messiah*. The plan of the poem is entirely taken from the gospel. The personages are Jesus, Peter, John, James, Judas, Pilate, Caiaphas, the Virgin, and three Magdalens. There is also a chorus, with an "Evangelist," who announces the airs, like the corypheus of the old Greek tragedies. The chorus opens the first scene, "The Lord will deliver us from the bondage of sin." The Evangelist says afterwards, in recitative, "As Jesus was sitting at the table with his disciples, having the Pascal Lamb before him, he took bread and gave it to them and said"—Air of Jesus, "This is my body, take and eat," &c. There are not less than fifty-five morceaux, airs, duets, and choruses in *The Passion*.

When he returned to London in 1718, Handel found that the Italian theatre had been closed since the beginning of 1717, being unable to support itself; but the chapel of the Duke of Chandos was in a flourishing condition. The Duke of Chandos, formerly paymaster-general of Queen Anne's army, had built, near the village of Edgeware (nine miles from London), a mansion called Cannons.

"The palace of the Duke of Chandos was erected in the 18th century. This magnificent structure, with its decorations and furniture, cost £230,000. The pillars of the great hall were of marble, as were the steps of the principal staircase, each step consisting of one piece 22 feet long. The establishment of the household was not inferior to the splendour of the habitation. Notwithstanding the three successive shocks which his fortune received by his concern in the African company, and the Mississippi and South Sea speculations in 1718, 1719, 1720, the duke lived in splendour at Cannons till his death in 1744, rather as the presumptive heir to a diadem than as one of her Majesty's subjects. So extraordinary, indeed, was his style of living, that he was designated "*the Grand Duke.*"[1]

Among other objects of luxury, this duke had a chapel furnished like the churches of Italy. It was situate a short distance from the mansion, and we are told that he went there with true Christian humility, "attended by his Swiss guards, ranged as the yeomen of the guard."[2] Every Sunday, the road from London to Edgeware was thronged with carriages of the members of the nobility and gentry, who went to pray to God with his Grace. Dr. Pepusch, one of the greatest musical celebrities of the time, was the first chapel-master; but the Duke of Chandos, who loved ever to worship the Lord with the best of everything, made proposals to the illustrious Saxon, and persuaded him to take the place of Pepusch. The *Musical Biography* tells us that "Dr. Pepusch fully acquiesced in the

[1] *A Journey through England*, by Miss Spence, quoted in *How to be Rid of a Wife*, a romance founded on the last marriage of the Duke of Chandos, which will presently be mentioned.

[2] *A Journey through England.*

opinion of Handel's superior merit, and retired from his eminent and honourable situation without any expression whatever, either of chagrin or disappointment."

The wise labour for their own sakes, for their own satisfaction, and in the midst of general indifference; but artists only work when they are excited by public attention. The most fruitful have need of external animation to become productive, and require immediate applause. Handel, having an orchestra and singers at his disposal, with the guests of a wealthy nobleman for audience, set himself to work passionately. It was at Cannons that he wrote, from 1718 to 1720, the two Te Deums and the twelve famous Anthems, called the *Chandos Te Deums* and the *Chandos Anthems*. These do not contain less than eleven overtures, thirty-two solos, six duets, one trio, one quartet, and forty-seven choruses. "It is forty years," says Busby, "since I heard them at Covent Garden, by Dr. Arnold; my ear still retains the impression of their charm and my mind of their grandeur." Unhappily these great works are now neglected, and of all the musical societies not one performs them. Even the promoters of the festivals which are held in the cathedrals seem to be unaware of their existence! It is to the seventh *Chandos Anthem* that the celebrated trio, "Thou rulest the raging of the sea," belongs, and to the sixth the not less celebrated imitative air, "The waves of the sea rage horribly." The chorus in the ninth, "For who is God, but the Lord," is one of those gigantic inspirations in which Handel is without an equal.

All the sacred music of Handel, without ceasing to be religious, has a fire and an active exaltation which makes it wholly distinct from the compositions of his predecessors. It has been said in Belgium that religious music, when impressed with this character, no longer answers its purpose; that it becomes a contradiction whenever it departs from the simplicity of the old masters. Assuredly nothing could be more absurd, and more deplorable, than to introduce into the temple, as some do, the dramatic style, and, above all, the frivolities of *fioriture*, which are as out of place in the church as they are tiresome at

the opera. But to give to the songs of worship a greater warmth and a richer orchestration than Gregory, Gombert, or Palestrina would admit, appears to be a very different thing from composing cavatinas or scenic pieces. One may differ from the Carthusians without becoming altogether worldly. In order to be sure that this is so, I must refer to my own impressions. The masses of Beethoven, Mozart, and Cherubini, like the anthems of Handel, have never excited in me (even hearing them elsewhere than in a church) any feeling inconsistent with the kind of meditation which is expressed by the word *religious*. Therefore, it seems to me that they accomplish their object. It seems to me to be as natural as it is logical to apply to this kind of music (as to every other) the resources of modern science and instrumentation; at the same time preserving always its proper character. To honour the Divinity as we ought, we should employ all the means in our power. The simplicity of the early masters is admirable; but it is probable that they would have been less simple had they been richer. Moreover, where are we to stop? If the Belgian school be in the right, Palestrina himself is not entirely free from reproach; for the sweet and pleasant tone of his musical phrase is very far removed from the austerity of the Plain-song. With sectarian intolerance, the pure Gregorians might accuse him of being effeminate.

Those who attempt to circumscribe sacred composition by what they call *the true style*—that is to say, a grave and naked melody—would make of music, if they were listened to, what the Greek Church made of painting: they would retain the art of sacred music at the twelfth century as the Greek Church did the art of painting. But such exaggerations never lead to the desired end. The Plain-song will always be beautiful to the ear, as the pictures of Cimabue, Giotto, Gaddi, and Fiesole are to the eye; but to restrict religious art to these is nothing less than to falsify it, and to render it ridiculous. Witness the modern religious paintings in Greece! Could anything be colder or more affected than those *pasticcios* of Byzantine simplicity upon a ground of gold! And this is the invariable result when the artist is condemned to archæological researches, rather than

left to his own inspiration to make use of all the means with which progress has furnished him. That, indeed, is the real contradiction, for it would be not more absurd to say that a man ought not to pray beneath the vaulted roof of an old Gothic cathedral unless clothed in an ancient doublet, with a bonnet on his head, and peaked shoes upon his feet.

Handel reduced many of the *Chandos Anthems* for the chapel of George the First. Even at Windsor and St. James's these arrangements are not now known, and it is supposed there that the great master never wrote anything for the royal chapels. But this is not the case; for not only does Burney state this fact, but the manuscripts of these reductions in the Buckingham Palace collection confirm that which he learnt by tradition.[1] It is now a long time since these reductions were lost sight of. The celebrated "As pants the hart," was rearranged by Dr. Boyce, at the express command of George the Third, and was printed in Page's *Harmonica Sacra*, with this heading, "Adapted to voices only, by desire of his present Majesty, by William Boyce, Mus. Doc." Both the Doctor and the King were evidently alike ignorant that the Composer had already done the very thing which they presumed to do over again.

Among the minor sacred music of Handel, mention should also be made of the three hymns:—*The Invitation*, "Sinners, obey the Gospel Word;" *Desiring to Love*, "O Love divine, how sweet thou art;" and *On the Resurrection*, "Rejoice, the Lord is King!" The poetry of these three solo hymns is by the Rev. Charles Wesley, brother and coadjutor of John Wesley, the founder of the great sect of Wesleyan Methodists. Dr. Rimbault has kindly communicated a note, written for his father by Samuel Wesley, the organist, which explains the somewhat singular origin of these compositions:—"The late comedian Rich, who was the most celebrated harlequin of his time, was also the proprietor of Covent Garden Theatre, during the period when Handel conducted his oratorios at that house. He married a person who became a serious character, after having formerly been a very contrary one, and who requested Handel to set to

[1] The proofs will be cited in the "Catalogue"—Article, "*Te Deums* of 1727," et seq.

music the *three hymns* which I transcribed in the Fitzwilliam Library, from the autography, and published them in consequence.—S. Wesley, March 30, 1829."

This Samuel Wesley (whose name and works were extinguished with his life) is a memorable example of an abortive vocation. As a child he was much more precocious than even Handel; for at three years of age *he improvised upon the organ!* A portrait of him, engraved when he was eight years old, represents him in the act of composition, and at the foot of the table is a volume on which is written, "*Ruth*, an Oratorio, *by Samuel Wesley, aged eight years.*"

CHAPTER III.

1720—1729.

HANDEL DIRECTS THE ITALIAN THEATRE FOR THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC—"RADAMISTO"—"ESTHER"—"ACIS"—THE MANSION OF CANNONS—THE DUKE OF CHANDOS BUYS A THIRD WIFE—"SUITES DE PIECES POUR LE CLAVECIN"—THE HARMONIOUS BLACKSMITH—THE ENVIRONS OF LONDON IN 1720—CABAL IN FAVOUR OF BONONCINI—ARIOSTI ATTILIO—HANDEL'S OPERAS PRODUCED FOR THE ACADEMY—HIS ITALIAN AIRS TRANSMUTED INTO SACRED MUSIC—THE CUZZONISTS AND THE FAUSTINISTS—CORONATION ANTHEMS—THE BEGGAR'S OPERA—RUIN AND DISSOLUTION OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC—POVERTY OF THE MISE-EN-SCENE.

ALTHOUGH attached to the chapel of the Duke of Chandos, Handel threw himself, about the beginning of 1720, into an enterprise which suited the activity of his mind. A company of French comedians occupied the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, and no one seemed to be tempted to revive the Italian opera; when a few noblemen conceived the idea of doing so, and opened a private subscription, which amounted to £50,000. A committee of twenty directors was formed, which comprised many names of historical repute: the Dukes of Newcastle, Portland, and Queensbury; the Earls of Burlington, Stair, and Waldegrave; Lords Bingley, Stanhope, &c. In 1726, the committee of direction selected for the year included the Dukes of Richmond and of Manchester; the Marquis of Carnarvon; the Earls of Albemarle, Burlington, and Chesterfield; and the Lord Mayor of London, &c. George the First (himself a subscriber to the amount of £1000) permitted the society to assume the name of the Royal Academy of Music. The assistance of Handel was then sought for, and the consent of the Mæcenas of Cannons was easily obtained. Handel undertook the task of collecting Italian singers from abroad, and he brought together a company, among whom may be distinguished Signora Durastanti. This songstress, who, as

well as Senesino, was taken from the Dresden theatre, acquired great favour at Court. The *Evening Post*, on the 7th of March, 1721, reports:—"Last Thursday, his Majesty was pleased to stand godfather, and the Princess and Lady Bruce godmothers to a daughter of Mrs. Durastanti, chief singer in the Opera-house. The Marquis Visconti for the King, and the Lady Litchfield for the Princess."

Francesco Bernardi, commonly called Senesino (because he was from Sienna), was also engaged. *Applebee's Original Weekly Journal* for the 31st of December, 1720, announces that "Signor Senesino, the famous Italian eunuch, has arrived, and 'tis said that the company allows him two thousand guineas for the season." The Royal Academy of Music, also brought over two celebrated composers, Ariosti Attilio from Berlin, and Bononcini from Rome, where he had lately produced the opera of *Astarto* with much success. It is inaccurate to state that they were in London before this epoch. Finally, the Academy obtained an Italian poet, Rolli (who must not be confounded with Rossi), to write the librettos. Antonio Rolli, in signing *Muzio Scævola*, called himself "Italian Secretary of the Academy." It is evident, therefore, that the enterprise was arranged upon a splendid scale; but, nevertheless, an advertisement of the 25th of November, 1721, shows that the ordinary prices of admission were moderate enough, and that at that time they had the idea of annual subscriptions:—"Application having been made to the Royal Academy of Music for tickets, entitling the bearers to the liberty of the house for the ensuing season, the Academy agree to give out tickets to such as shall subscribe on the conditions following, viz., that each subscriber on the delivery of his ticket, pay ten guineas; that on the first of February next ensuing each subscriber pay a further sum of five guineas, and likewise five guineas more on the first of May following. And whereas the Academy propose acting fifty operas this season, they oblige themselves to allow a deduction proportionably, in case fewer operas be performed than that number."[1] The *fifty operas* are the invention

[1] Burney.

of the wretched journalism of the period. There can be no doubt that *fifty representations* were intended; which would be about two performances weekly, during a season of six months, the theatre opening on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

The French comedians remained in England a long time, and apparently not without exciting the jealousy of the native actors. In a letter from Aaron Hill to the younger Rich (dated the 9th of September, 1721) he says:—"I suppose you know that the Duke of Montague and I have agreed, and that I am to have that house half the week, and the *French vermin* the other half."

The Academy, playing alternately with *the vermin*, commenced its season in the Haymarket on the 2nd of April, 1720, with the *Numitor* of Porta.[1] The *Radamistus* of Handel, advertised on Wednesday, the 25th of April, for the following day, was postponed until Thursday, the 27th, "the French comedians playing on the Thursday by particular desire of several ladies of quality."[2] Mainwaring says:—"If persons who are now living, and who were present at that performance, may be credited, the applause it received was almost as extravagant as his *Agrippina* had excited; the crowds and tumults of the house at Venice were hardly equal to those at London. In so splendid and fashionable an assembly of ladies (to the excellence of their taste we must impute it), there was no shadow of form or ceremony, scarce indeed any appearance of order or regularity, politeness or decency. Many, who had forced their way into the house with an impetuosity but ill-suited to their rank and sex, actually fainted through the heat and closeness of it. Several gentlemen were turned back, who had offered forty shillings for a seat in the gallery, after having despaired of getting any in the pit or boxes!"

Hawkins says:—"Mr. Handel looked upon the two airs 'Cara sposa,' in *Rinaldo*, and 'Ombra cara,' in *Radamisto*, as the two finest he ever made, and he declared this his opinion to the author of this work."

The first season of the Royal Academy of Music finished

[1] *Daily Courant.* [2] Ditto.

on the 25th of June, 1720, and the second began on the 19th of November following, with a new Italian company. Senesino made his first appearance in the *Astartus* of Bononcini (who had then arrived), and afterwards appeared in the revival of *Radamisto*, in December.

The *Post Boy*, of the 9th of July, 1720, contains the following advertisement:—"This is to give notice to all gentlemen and ladies, lovers of musick, that the most celebrated new opera of *Radamistus*, composed by Mr. Handell, is now engraving finely upon copper-plates, by Richard Meares, musical instrument maker and music printer at the Golden Viol. To make this work more acceptable, the author has been prevailed upon to correct the whole."

And on the 1st of December, the following advertisement appeared:—

"On Thursday, the 15th inst., will be published (with his Majesty's royal privilege and licence) the opera of *Radamistus*, composed by Mr. Handel; the elegancies of which, and the abilities of its author, are too well known by the musical part of the world to need a recommendation, unless it be by informing them that there hath been such due care taken in the printing of it (which consists of 124 large folio copper-plates, all corrected by the author), that the printer presumes to assert that there hath not been in Europe a piece of music so well printed, and upon so good paper. Published by the author."

The phrase is perhaps rather lengthy, but it does not exaggerate the truth. With the exception of the book of *Suites de Pièces pour le Clavecin*, from the press of Cluer, there is nothing of that epoch superior to this publication. Good working engravers were still excessively rare, and the printing of music was deplorably bad.

There is a book of *Arie Aggiunte al Radamisto* ("Additional Airs to Radamisto"), which were composed in honour of the the new company. The part of Tiridate, which had been originally written for a tenor, was then given to Boschi, a basso; and this is why the airs of Tiridate are for a tenor in the original

edition, and for a basso in the *Arie Aggiunte*. These editions are to be found in the opera-book of 1720, and some of them are indicated by a star. Meares published this third advertisement in the *Post Boy* of the 18th of March, 1721 :—"The celebrated opera of *Radamisto*, printed upon a fine Dutch paper, and the best and most correct piece of music extant. And whereas, Mr. Handel has composed several additional songs to make the said work more obliging, they are now finished and will be published this day, the edition containing forty-one copper-plates engraven by the same hand. Such gentlemen and ladies as have already purchased the work may have the additions gratis at the place above mentioned."

To give forty-one pages of music gratis, when they might very honestly have been charged for, is certainly a very liberal proceeding. The merit of this is due to Handel; for the entire edition belonged to him. It is inscribed, "Published by the Author, at Richard Meares and Christopher Smith.[1] Not to be sold anywhere else in England." And there is also the copy of a patent granted by the King, and dated the 14th of June, 1720, "reserving to the author, to the exclusion of all others, the right of printing his works during the period of fourteen years." Handel had seen Walsh publish more or less incorrectly, and without his consent, different pieces of *Water Music* and of *Theseus*. Therefore, he attempted to protect himself in this manner from similar depredations; but without effect.

It does not appear that patents offered any serious protection to literary and artistic property; for we find the principal music-sellers of the period robbing one another reciprocally, and the transparence of the veil with which they concealed their thefts is a sufficient proof that, if they preserved their anonymity, no remedy was exacted. The plates of a fraudulent edition of *Scipio*, by Meares, are signed by Cross, who was notoriously his principal working engraver. Cluer repeated, over and over again, that he was the sole proprietor of *Giulio Cesare*, at the very time when

[1] Christopher Smith, the elder (as has been already stated), followed Handel to London in 1717. From this notification it appears probable that he had established a music-shop. It is true that the name of Smith is common in England, but that of Christopher is more rare.

Walsh was printing it none the less for that, and without any great mystery. The latter audaciously set at the foot of his illegitimate edition of *Rodelinda*, "Sold at the musick-shops, where may be had the favourite songs in *Flavius, Floridante, Artaxerxes, Aquilo,*" &c., all which operas belonged to him exclusively. Cluer himself, who seems to have been rather more scrupulous, openly advertises *Œtius* and *Porus*, to which he had no sort of right; and Walsh, who was the owner of these two works, did nothing more than call him a "pirate." If the law had well supported the royal prescription, there is but little doubt that he would not have been contented with applying to others an epithet which he himself so well deserved. A book of *Judas Maccabæus*, by E. Johnson, offers a curious example of this guerilla warfare:—"This edition is correctly printed from the last of the administrator of Mr. Watts, or his assigns, and is done on the principle of *lex talionis;* for as he, or they, have several times printed *Messiah*, which E. Johnson has a property in, and he, or they, have none, he has thought it perfectly justifiable to avail himself of the advantage (which yet is far from being adequate to the injury he has received by that means) of printing *Judas*. His property in *Messiah* is derived from the compiler of it, who is now living, and is a gentleman of a very respectable character, and of a very opulent fortune." The characteristic addition of "very opulent" would sound in the present day like a superfluity; for, in this age of *honest men*, opulence includes every grade of respectability.

Radamisto is dedicated to George the First by Handel, who signs himself, "Your faithful servant and subject." Burney concludes from this that the Saxon musician had become naturalized. His conjecture is, however, in advance of the fact, for England had not the honour of becoming the country of Handel before 1726, when a private Act of Parliament was passed, entitled, "An Act for Naturalizing Louis Sekehaye George Frederic Handel and others."[1]

[1] See "Grand Handel Musical Festival, at the Crystal Palace, in 1857: A Letter addressed to the Members, Subscribers, and Assistants of the Sacred Harmonic Society, October, 1856." This pamphlet, which is by Mr. Bowley, the treasurer of the Society, is full of interesting facts.

Whilst Handel was working for the Royal Academy of Music, he had not quitted the mastership of the chapel at Whitchurch. He kept that until 1721. It was for the Duke of Chandos that he composed his first English oratorio. Under his direction, Humphreys wrote the poem of *Esther*, in which many of the choruses are translated from Racine. *Esther* (for which the Duke paid £1000[1]) was performed for himself and his friends on the 29th of August, 1720, at Cannons.[2] Handel wrote this oratorio with the view of making known a sort of music of which they had not yet any idea in England. It was not intended for the public. The score, after having been performed two or three times, was put on one side, and, as will presently be seen, only reappeared at a later period.

Here it will be sufficient to note, that the overture of *Esther*, almost ever since it was composed, has been so constantly played at St. Paul's, at the Feast of the Sons of the Clergy, that it now seems in a peculiar manner dedicated to the service of the church.[3]

Lest this magnificent Duke of Chandos should be deprived of any of his honours, let it at once be stated that it was for him also that *Acis and Galatea* was composed, and was performed at Cannons in 1721. The pretty poem for this English serenata is by Gay, assisted by the other literary frequenters of the mansion. Here may be found some verses by Pope, "Not showers to larks," and a strophe by Hughes, "Would you gain the tender creature;" nor did they hesitate to take

[1] *A Journey through England.*

[2] Richard Clark.

[3] See Burney. In 1655, the Bishop of Chester preached a charity sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral in favour of the poor families of the clergy. These sermons, followed by a collection, were continued; and in 1678 the Institution of the Sons of the Clergy was founded by royal charter, for the education of the sons of necessitous ministers. The daughters were apparently not worth caring for. In 1709, music was added to the annual sermon at St. Paul's for the first time; and thenceforward the custom has always been observed.—(Lysons.) The compositions of Handel, and especially the *Utrecht Te Deum* and the overture of *Esther*, provided for more than half a century all the music for these charitable concerts. In the works of Aaron Hill, there is an "Ode, on the Occasion of Mr. Handel's great *Te Deum* at the Feast of the Sons of the Clergy, on February 1st, 1732." The poet says, that the spirit of God, which directly inspired the songs of David, and has since been concealed, has reappeared in the soul of Handel.

"Help, Galatea, help," from Dryden's translation of the thirteenth book of Ovid's "Metamorphoses."[1] It was a work made, as it were, for amusement. The score, like that of *Esther*, did not leave Cannons, and reappeared only when a happy accident delivered it over to the public.

Of the splendid residence, wherein the Duke of Chandos gave these magnificent "feasts of reason," nothing is now left but Whitchurch, the chapel which was constructed apart from the mansion. This has now become the parish church of the village of Edgeware, and is at present in a very poor condition. But it was never very beautiful. The fresco paintings, which adorn the principal pew, are of a very inferior order, as also are the paintings which decorate either side of the communion-table. The most interesting relic in the place is an organ, of moderate size, which stands behind the altar; upon this may be found a little brass-plate, bearing this inscription:—

HANDEL WAS ORGANIST OF THIS CHURCH
FROM THE YEAR 1718 TO 1721, AND
COMPOSED THE ORATORIO OF ESTHER
ON THIS ORGAN.

For this memorial of him we are indebted to Julius Plumer, an inhabitant of the Edgeware Road, who caused it to be placed there in 1750.[2] What he intended to record was, that the sublime musician played upon this organ at the time when *Esther* was performed at Whitchurch. When I visited the chapel, this venerable instrument had been undergoing repair for six months.

The mansion, which had cost the Duke of Chandos £230,000 sterling, was sold for £11,000 three years after his death, in

[1] Mr. Bennett's preface to the edition of *Acis*, published by the Handel Society.

[2] Clark.

1747. Not a vestige of it is left, and as the site is now in a state of cultivation, Pope's prediction is realized:—

> "Another age shall see the golden ear
> Imbrown the slope, and nod on the parterre,
> Deep harvests bury all his pride has plann'd,
> And laughing Ceres reassume the land."
>
> *Essay—"Of the Use of Riches."*

The magnificent Duke himself is now almost forgotten. A marble statue, which was erected to his memory in the crypt of the chapel, is now in the last state of dilapidation. The wind whistles through the broken windows of its funereal abode, and the plaster of the roof, detached from its skeleton of laths, powders his enormous wig, and soils the imperial robe that drapes his shoulders. But the spirit of the master of Cannons may console itself; for in the verses of the poets are monuments of infinitely greater durability than marble. And has not Pope sung:—

> "True, some are open, and to all men known;
> Others so very close, they're hid from none;
> (So darkness strikes the sense no less than light);
> Thus gracious CHANDOS is beloved at sight."
>
> *Essay—"Of the Knowledge and Characters of Men."*

On either side of the statue stand two long figures, clothed, like it, in Roman costume. These are the first two wives of the Duke. But he married a third wife, who has not, however, been permitted to enter the sanctuary.

The story of this third marriage is worth relating, and may entertain the reader for a moment. The substance of it is taken from Miss Spence's novel, *How to be Rid of a Wife.*

One day, the Duke being on a journey, he saw, at the door of an inn at which the horses were changed, a groom beating a young servant girl with a horsewhip. Taking pity on the poor girl, the Duke went to interpose between them, when he was informed that the groom and the girl were married. This being the case, nothing could be said; for the law of England at that time permitted husbands to beat their better halves to any excess short of death. The groom, who had noticed the

movement of the Duke, came up and offered to sell him his wife if he would buy her, and, in order to save her from further punishment, he did so. But when the bargain was concluded, the Duke did not know what to do with his new acquisition, and so he sent her to school. Soon after this the Duchess of Chandos died, and the Duke took it into his head that he would marry his purchase; so that eventually the poor servant girl, whom a groom had beaten by the road-side before every passer-by, became Duchess of Chandos, and comported herself in her new rank with perfect dignity; for, thanks to their exquisite tact, which is so superior to that of men, women are able to mount the social scale with marvellous facility, and it is seldom that they do not easily throw off all traces of an inferior origin.

As for the statement about the right to beat his wife, which the first husband of the Duchess assumed, it has not been lightly made. Blackstone says—"The husband, by the old law, might give his wife moderate correction." Some lawyers have doubted this, for Great Britain does not possess a fixed code; but the husbands have never been of their opinion. It was only in 1853 that the law invested police magistrates with the power of punishing such ignoble cruelty with six months' imprisonment. Almost daily they find it necessary to pronounce sentence upon this crime; and yet, in spite of their honourable zeal to abolish such barbarity, the ignorant classes are so saturated with "the old law" and its ancient privileges, that the greater number of the criminals are actually astonished when they are visited with punishment!

But had the groom any right to sell his wife? Legally speaking, no; but according to immemorial custom, of which many examples may be found, yes. Not a single case is on record in which the perpetrators of these monstrous sales have been prosecuted. Miss Spence relates the sale simply, without the slightest comment, and as a fact which speaks for itself. If, in such a case, the purchased wife married her purchaser, legally speaking she became a bigamist; but whoever thought of calling her so would have been laughed at. History relates

that, in order to spare the purchaser of his wife any trouble in the matter, the groom killed himself by drinking away the purchase-money. The third Duchess of Chandos was, therefore, as legitimately so as possible; but, nevertheless, the family would not permit her remains to be laid within the ducal tomb.

The manner of life in the house of the agreeable and wealthy Chandos, in the company of such men as Pope and Gay, and other visitors of a similar stamp, had a charm for the sprightly and original Handel, and greatly excited the powers of his fancy. As is the case with all ardent minds, the more he had to do, the more he could do; he was delighted with the accumulation of labour. The year 1720 was a very busy one for him. He directed the chapel at Cannons, he gave lessons on the harpsichord to the daughters of the Prince of Wales, he opened the theatre of the Royal Academy of Music, he produced *Radamisto* in London, *Esther* at Cannons, and, finally, he published his first work of instrumental music, *Suites de Pièces pour le Clavecin*, which he composed (it is said) for his favourite pupil, the Princess Anne.

On the 2nd of November, 1720, the *Daily Courant* announces "*Lessons for the Harpsichord*, by Mr. Handel," as being about to appear on the 14th of that month. On the 9th it is added, "The author has been obliged to publish those pieces to prevent the publick being imposed upon by some surreptitious and incorrect copies of some of them that have got abroad." On the 14th, another advertisement makes known that copies are for sale at the price of one guinea.

It is somewhat remarkable that a number of collections for the harpsichord were published at that time with French titles. Bach issued one in Germany, entitled *Suites Anglaises pour le Clavecin*. Although called in the journals *Lessons for the Harpsichord*, Handel's volume was printed by Cluer, under its French title, of doubtful correctness, *Suites de Pièces pour le Clavecin*. On the first page may be found the following note:—

"I have been obliged to publish some of the following

lessons, because surrepticious and incorrect copies of them had got abroad. I have added several new ones to make the work more useful, which if it meets with a favourable reception, I will still proceed to publish more, reckoning it my duty, with my small talent, to serve a nation from which I have received so generous a protection.

"G. F. HANDEL."

I attended in London the excellent lectures of Mr. Salamon, on all kinds of stringed instruments, from the psaltery to the piano. The professor had occasion to read this very note, in which the composer speaks in the first person, and when he came to the words, "my small talent," a movement of emotion was perceptible among the audience, and he could scarcely finish the sentence before there was a general clapping of hands, as if the great man himself were present.

In a very short time, the *Suites de Pièces pour le Clavecin* acquired a reputation literally universal. They were reprinted in France, in Switzerland, in Holland, and in Germany. In spite of this, however, the author did not publish any more immediately; for the second collection, which is generally supposed to be of the same epoch as the first, was published by Walsh only in 1733. Incontestible proof of this will be furnished in the "Catalogue;" but it is quite certain that between the two collections there was an interval of thirteen years. This explains the difference of musical merit which has been already observed, and which was inexplicable so long as they were supposed to have been twins. The second collection is not equal to the first. It is quite worthy of Handel. The two chacones, the one with eighteen and the other with sixty-two variations, are admirable; but the entire work is not one of those special creations, perfectly laboured and finished throughout *con amore*. There are three indifferent pieces, written doubtless at the instance of Walsh, who expected a certain sale in this continuation of a series which had became permanently established on every harpsichord in Europe. The companion pieces of successful works are almost invariably pit-falls; for the virgin inspiration,

the great virtue of Art, is mostly wanting in those things made to order.

Among the "Suites" of the first collection, there is one delicious piece, to which a curious tradition is attached. One day, as he was going to Cannons, the chapel-master was overtaken by a shower, in the midst of the village of Edgeware, and took shelter in the house of one Powell, who was a blacksmith, as well as parish clerk of Whitchurch. After the usual salutations, Powell fell to work again at his forge, singing an old song the while. By an extraordinary phenomenon, the hammer, striking in time, drew from the anvil two harmonic sounds, which, being in accord with the melody, made a sort of continuous bass. Handel was struck by the incident, listened, remembered the air and its strange accompaniment, and, when he returned home, composed out of it a piece for the harpsichord. This is the piece which has been published separately a thousand times under the title of *The Harmonious Blacksmith.* This title is relatively modern. Handel himself never made use of it, and it is not to be found in the original copy. Mr. Richard Clark, who claims to have discovered Powell's anvil,[1] does not produce any authority in support of the tradition. He only states that Dr. Crotch informed him that, when he was at Cambridge with Dr. Hague, he saw in a book the melody of *The Harmonious Blacksmith,* with the name of Wagenseil as composer. But this is very vague. The doctor ought, at any rate, to have taken the trouble of giving us some information as to the date and title of that book. There is another tradition, which would make it appear that this unknown Wagenseil had nothing to do with the business. It is to the effect that Handel, taking shelter at the blacksmith's, listened to the unison of his hammer with the church bell, which was ringing at the time, and that the celebrated piece was the result of the inspiration thus produced. However that may be, the popularity of *The Harmonious Blacksmith* is not yet extinct; after an existence of one hundred and thirty-six years, it is continually being reprinted, and it will be reprinted so long as the human race is sensible to

[1] *Reminiscences of Handel.*

music. It has been arranged for the orchestra, and was performed in this manner by the Academy of Ancient Music.[1] The name of Powell will descend, therefore, to the most remote posterity, merely because Handel took shelter in his workshop for a quarter of an hour. At the time when I made a pilgrimage to Edgeware, a sort of square shed, standing alone in the middle of the great street, was shown to me as being the veritable forge used by Powell.

This incident of a journey to Cannons recalls to mind, that the visits which the organist of Whitchurch paid to that mansion were not unattended by danger. The state of the high-roads at that time, even in the vicinity of London, rendered it frequently necessary for travellers to defend themselves. Mr. Richard Clark found the two following paragraphs, the former in the *Weekly Journal, or Saturday's Post*, and the latter in the *Weekly Journal, or British Gazettier*:—"On Monday, February 6th, 1720, as the Duke of Chandos was riding to his beautiful house at Edgware, and being before his retinue some distance, two highwaymen came up, and bid him deliver his money; but his servants coming in view, fired their pistols, as did the highwaymen, but neither hurt or killed. One of the highwaymen quitted his horse, and jumped over the hedge, and was followed by one of the Duke's servants, who knocked him down and took him; the other was pursued to Tyburn and there taken. Both committed to Newgate." "Tuesday, February 7th, 1720.—The post-boys were set upon in Tyburn Road by three highwaymen. His Grace the Duke of Chandos coming up, ordered his servants to attack them, which they did so bravely, that they killed one and took the other two, who impeached ten more of the gang."[2] But when a man was without such a retinue as his Grace had, it could scarcely have been considered in the light of a party of pleasure to travel along a road so infested. But the hero of the duel with Mattheson was not wanting in any kind of courage.

[1] This Academy, which was founded in 1710 (Hawkins), is now extinct. This is to be regretted, for it was an excellent private institution, which contributed, in an important degree, to the establishment of a taste for good music in England.

[2] *Reminiscences of Handel.*

It has been already stated that the Royal Academy of Music attracted Bononcini and Attilio to London. Whether it was for the purpose of exciting curiosity, by putting the two Italians and the German in comparison with each other, or whether the poem was divided between them for the purpose of accelerating the work, and because it was necessary to produce some novelty, it is certain that *Muzio Scævola*, which was produced on the 15th of April, 1721, was collaborated by the three composers. All the biographies agree in treating it as a sort of competition, in which the conquered were thenceforth to give way to the conqueror; and in stating that Bononcini and Attilio were dismissed. This, however, is not true, although Mainwaring was the first to advance it. These two composers were luxuries (so to speak) in the establishment of the Academy, and they continued to write for it up to the period of its dissolution.[1] The *Flying Post* announces, in February, 1727, that "the directors of the R. A. of Musick have resolved that after the excellent opera of Mr. Handel, which is now performing, Signor Attilio shall compose one; and Signor Bononcini is to compose the next after that. Thus, as the theatre can boast of the three best voices in Europe, and the best instruments, so the town will have the pleasure of hearing these three different styles of composing."[2]

Up to a certain point, Bononcini was able to sustain the rivalry which is attributed to him; but as for Attilio, who was gifted with agreeable but not very powerful faculties, he could never aspire, nor did he aspire, to any such competition. Ariosti Attilio (who was a Dominican monk, exempted from all the duties of his condition because he was supposed to be a genius) crosses the path of Handel's life like a melancholy

[1] Bononcini produced *Astarto* at London in November, 1720; *Crispo* and *Griselda* (which is regarded as his masterpiece) in January and February, 1722; *Erminia* and *Farnace* (unedited) in March and November, 1723; *Calfurnia* in April, 1724; and *Astyanax* in May, 1727. Attilio produced *Ciro* (unedited) in May, 1721; *Coriolano* in February, 1723; *Vespasiano* (unedited), and *Artaxerxes* in January and December, 1724; *Dario* (unedited) in April, 1725; and *Lucio Vero* in January, 1727.

[2] Quoted by Malcolm, page 342 of the quarto edition, and page 167, vol. ii. of the edition of 1810.

shade. Already we have seen him at Berlin take the young virtuoso of Halle on his knee, and delighting himself with listening to him for whole hours. At London he produced his works quietly and without intrigue, never mixing himself up with the violent contests which agitated the musical world. In 1730 he lapsed into silence and poverty, not even knowing how to get any advantage from his talent upon the *viol d'amour*, which he introduced into England in 1716, during a short visit at that period. A mild, timid, and inoffensive man, and as graceful as a woman, he was crushed to nothingness between the colossal Handel and the arrogant Bononcini.

It was the latter who composed the second act of *Muzio Scævola*, and Attilio the first; but the third (which was composed by Handel) generally obtained the preference. The critics were reduced to accuse it of incorrectness. In the overture added to his act, Handel made use of a semitone, which the pedants declared to be an unpardonable license. "Be it so," said Geminiani, "but such a semitone is worth a world."[1] Dr. William Crotch, who edited the *Coronation Anthems* for the Handel Society, declares that "several violations of the rules of musical grammar, as consecutive fifths and octaves, have been suffered to remain as not appearing to be accidental oversights." The pupil of Sackau was a very learned musician, and knew better than any one the grammar of his art; but he deliberately violated it when he found any advantage in so doing. Men of genius have a right to overlook the law, and for a very simple reason: it is they who make the law, and who bring it to perfection. If they invent a departure from a rule, that departure becomes a new rule. But to do this, genius is indispensable.

The victory gained by Handel over the two rivals who were opposed to him only served, as is usual in such cases, to excite all the more vehemently the cabal which was arising among a party of the English nobility against him and in favour of Bononcini. The chapel-master of Cannons was not much of a courtier. Jealous of his independence, proud, and always dignified, many noble lords failed to obtain from him the submission

[1] "Ma qual semitono vale un mondo."

which they required. The wit of the party which created this rivalry continued to keep it alive. Swift who admired nothing, and who had no ear, wrote an epigram upon the subject, which was set as "a cheerful glee for four voices:"—

"Some say that Signor Bononcini,
Compared to Handel, is a ninny;
Whilst others say, that to him, Handel
Is hardly fit to hold a candle.
Strange that such difference should be
'Twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee."

The angry injustice of the nobles is far preferable to the injurious and empty eclecticism of this immaculate Dean of St. Patrick. Lycurgus was in the right when he banished all citizens who would not take part in the civil war, for neuters are always fit for nothing.

But Handel had ardent followers, who were indignant at seeing his supremacy contested. Henry Carey sang his praise in the following verses:—

"TO MR. GEORGE FREDERIC HANDEL.[1]

. . . . . .

"The envy and the wonder of mankind
Must terminate, but never can thy lays;
For when, absorbed in elemental flame,
This world shall vanish, Music will exist.
Then their sweet strains, to native skies returning,
Shall breathe in songs of seraphims and angles,
Commixt and lost in Harmony Eternal
That fills all Heaven!"

On the 9th of December, 1721, *Floridante* appeared. It was revived on the 3rd of March, 1733. Burney sums up an analysis of this opera in these words:—"The spirit, invention, and science of Handel has never been disputed; but by a recent examination of his early works, I am convinced that his slow airs are as much superior to those of his contemporaries, as the others in spirit and science."

On the 12th of January, 1723, *Otho*, or *Ottone* appeared, which Burney selects as the flower of the composer's dramatic works. He says that it would be difficult to find in it a single piece, vocal or instrumental, which has not been a favourite

[1] *Poems on Several Occasions.*

with the public. According to Mainwaring, "an eminent master, who was not on good terms with Handel, said of 'Affanni del pensier,' '*That great bear was certainly inspired when he wrote that song.*'" Probably Mainwaring refers to Pepusch.

It was in *Ottone* that the celebrated Cuzzoni made her first appearance. Malcolm says, "her engagement was at the enormous salary of £2000 per season, presuming on her future success. Nor were the managers disappointed, for they were enabled, on the second evening of her performance, to demand four guineas for each ticket." Malcolm has also preserved the following quatrain, which was written on the morning after her *début*, and which he designates as "excellent:"—

> "If Orpheus' notes could woods and rocks inspire,
> And make dull rivers listen to his lyre;
> Cutzona's voice can, with far greater skill,
> Rouse death to life, and what is living kill."

Ottone was revived on the 13th of November, 1733.[1] The poem is dedicated by the author, N. Haym, "All' Eccellenza my Lord Conte di Halifax."

The season of 1723 was adorned by *Giulio Cesare*, and by *Flavius*, which Haym dedicated to the directors of the Royal Academy of Music. Instead of a final chorus, *Flavius* contains a veritable quintett, "Doni pace;" and this seems to be the first scenic quintett that ever was composed. A revival of this opera was attempted in 1732, but without success. *Julius Cæsar*, on the other hand, sparkling with beauties, often reappeared upon the stage. The last time it was performed was in 1787, when it was produced for the purpose of attracting to the theatre poor George the Third, who was passionately fond of Handel's music. Since that time, not a single opera by the great master has been performed. In *Julius Cæsar*, the air "Da tempesta," and the accompanied recitative, "Alma d'el gran Pompeo," are still celebrated. Senesino created a sensation in the recitative. A writer in the *London Magazine* of February, 1733, relates the following anecdote of him:—

[1] *Daily Journal.*

"When I was last at the opera of *Julius Cæsar*, from which I took the hint of writing this paper, a piece of the machinery tumbled down from the roof of the theatre upon the stage, just as Senesino had chanted forth these words, 'Cesare non seppe mai, che sia timore' ('Cæsar does not know what fear is.') The poor hero was so frightened that he trembled, lost his voice, and fell crying. Every tyrant or tyrannical minister is just such a Cæsar as Senesino."

But none the less for that, Senesino sang the part of the fierce Tamerlane, in the opera of that name, performed in 1724; the overture of which is quoted as a masterpiece.

In *Rodelinda*, which followed in 1725, Signora Cuzzoni had so much success, that the female fashionable world adopted the brown silk dress, embroidered with silver, which she wore in the part. Burney says, that "for a year the dress seemed a national uniform for youth and beauty."

For a long time afterwards, "God of music, charm the charmer," was sung to the beautiful air from *Rodelinda*, "Dove sei amato bene." Preston employed it for "Hope, thou source of every blessing," in a large volume filled with similar arrangements—*The Beauties of Music and Poetry*. Arnold stuck it into his pasticcio, *The Redemption*, as "Holy, holy, Lord God Almighty." In spite of their reverence for Handel, the English will only see in him the composer of sacred music; and, outside of a certain musical sphere, there are many persons who will be very much astonished to hear that Handel ever wrote an opera. They will go to the theatre to listen to such rubbish as *Rigoletto*, but no manager dares to risk such works as *Otho*, *Admetus*, *Alcina*, or *Julius Cæsar*. Meanwhile, they sing with admiration the religious air of "Lord, remember David," which, like the "Holy, holy, Lord God Almighty," is, after all, only a secular air disguised—nothing but "Rendi'l sereno al ciglio" of *Sosarme*; "He was eyes unto the blind," is made out of "Non vi piacque" of *Siroe*; "He was brought as a lamb," of "Nel riposo" of *Deidamia*; "Turn thee, O Lord," of "Verdi prati," a sublime air of *Alcina*; "He layeth the beams of his chamber," of "Nasci al bosco" of *Ezio*; and

"Bow down thine ear, O Lord," of "Vieni, o figlio" of *Ottone*.

I have only cited here the best known examples of these transmutations, but there are a multitude of others, many of which have been printed over and over again, whilst the original airs have remained buried in the old editions of Walsh, and are known only to amateurs. The Italian *repertoire* of Handel has been sanctified (as it were) in this manner, and almost always fraudulently; that is to say, the source has been concealed. The smallest vice in these pieces of scrap work is to render unnatural, and consequently to spoil, the most beautiful things by putting them into dresses which were never made to fit them. Nothing can be said against a translation when it is executed with ability, and preserves the spirit by changing only the words of the original; but to adapt a cavatina of the theatre to a strophe from the Bible is almost invariably tantamount to an entire change of the composer's idea, since there is no analogy in the sentiments which it is made to express. Music is not "a horse for every saddle," and although it is not a precise and determined language—although it can frequently express diverse ideas, it cannot adapt itself indifferently to every description of words. It is known that Handel himself wrote four choruses of *The Messiah* out of "Chamber Duets." He has taken a phrase of a chorus in *Acis*, "Behold the monster," in which the expression of fear and horror is admirable, from another chamber duet, of which the sense was not at all analogous.[1] "Let old Timotheus," of *Alexander's Feast*, is perfectly similar to the first part of the chamber trio, "Quel fior che al alba ride." Many similar examples might be quoted. But although an air which has been composed for one subject may sometimes be suitable for another, such is not always the case. Music is an excessively delicate art; it is the most sensitive of all the arts; the slightest modification—even the alteration of a note—is perceptible; the acceleration, or the prolongation, of the time often entirely

[1] In the chorus of *Acis*, "Wretched Lovers," the phrase, "Behold the monster, Polypheme," is identically taken from the third part of the Twelfth of the Chamber Duets, published by Arnold, at the words "Da gl' amori flagellata."

changes the character of a song; and it is the composer only who has a right to effect such transformations, for he alone can judge of their propriety. There may be different ways (and all excellent) of singing the same thing, and yet all possible ways may not be good. There are a hundred thousand plaintive melodies which will very well express *I wish to die*, and some of these may be very well applied to *My grief is great;* but some of them would not agree with the latter phrase, and if you applied them to *I wish to dance*, the result would be horribly incongruous.

The acrobats who give themselves to this kind of trick are still more culpable, when they do not inform the public of the fact. For example, in the "Holy, holy, Lord," which is usually printed as "by Handel," the word "holy" occurs *thirty-one times over*. But it never falls together oftener than twice, although the text invokes God as thrice holy. Surely Handel would not have been so prodigal of this word, and he would not have altered the biblical text, which repeats three times, "Holy! holy! holy!" He knew that the number three was a sacred number in the Bible, like the number seven. Still less would he have clothed the invocation of a praying people—"Holy! holy! holy! Lord God Almighty!" with the accents of a man who is calling upon his love, "Dove sei amato bene," "Where art thou, my beloved treasure?"

And, besides, many of these adapters have not even respected the music which they have meddled with. Corfe, in his substitution of "Turn thee, O Lord!" for "Verdi prati," has not contented himself with transforming the Italian air into a duet, but he has found it useful to change certain passages of it. And what could be worse than to apply a melody which breathes of "Green meadows, lovely forest," to "Turn thee, O Lord?" Arnold has, indeed, preserved in all its integrity the air of "Verdi prati," whilst he adapts it to "Where is this stupendous Stranger?" (*Redemption*). But it is easy to imagine what would have been the anger of the choleric Handel, if he could have heard his ideas about green fields applied to any stranger, be he ever so stupendous.

The mania for putting everything into their prayers has betrayed the English into some most unworthy actions. If Handel had written a "Vive l'amour!" or a "Here's to wine!" they would have made a canticle of it. In 1765, they had the audacity to introduce into *Israel in Egypt* a dozen such things as "Great Jehovah, all adoring," fitted to the music of "Di Cupido impiego i vanni" ("I borrow Cupid's wings"), from *Rodelinda;* thus daring to set Cupid's quiver upon the shoulders of Omnipotence itself—an act which seems to me monstrous, in an artistic point of view, and I am astonished that the English, generally so religious, do not regard it as positively blasphemous.

The Reverend Rowland Hill, when he was reproached with similar practices, wittily replied—"But the devil must not have all the good tunes." A man of wit can always extricate himself by a joke; but that does not satisfy the question of propriety, and it is astonishing that churchmen do not regard this more seriously—for to sing a psalm to an air taken out of an opera seems like decorating the altar with the detested rags of the theatre, or dressing up a bishop in the costume of "the comic man."

Even those who have inherited Handel's own books have left in them traces of similar profanation. Thus, in the copy of *Deborah,* which Handel himself used for a long time, and which contains a number of notes, and even entire pages in his own handwriting, the original air of Jael, "To joy he brightens my despair," is folded down as if to be suppressed, and is replaced by three new pages, with "To joy he brightens" set to an air from *Siroe,* "Sgombra dell anima!" Many other examples of this might be cited; for really some persons seemed to think that they might take the most incredible liberties with music. In the eighteenth century there were editors who had the barbarous audacity to *correct* Shakspere, in order to "render him fit for the stage;" but no one has dared, in imitation of these musical arrangers, to put the description of Queen Mab into Othello's mouth, or Hamlet's soliloquy into that of Falstaff.

Even whilst Handel was living, this adulteration of his compositions was practised. All collections of songs about that

epoch are full of things "by Mr. Handel," but of which he was certainly guiltless; and these are always airs from his operas, and even from his oratorios, adapted to English rhymes. The *Thesaurus Musicus*,[1] for example, contains "A bacchanal—'Bacchus, god of mortal pleasures,' by Mr. Handel;" which is simply a gavot from the overture of *Otho*, out of which the adapter has manufactured a toper's duct. And not only did they distort the great master's music by marrying it to words which bore no sort of relation to the ideas which he had intended it to express, but they even degraded it by coupling it with low comedy matters. In the British Museum there is a song, "On the Humours of the Town," a dialogue between Columbine and Punch, to a favourite air of Mr. Handel's, "*O my pretty Punchinello!*" It is an air from *Rodelinda*, "Ben spesso in vago prato," which is here lent to Columbine and Punchinello for the interchange of their amenities. Harry Carey, the original profaner, had at least the good faith to point it out; but Bickham inserted "O my pretty Punchinello!" in his "Musical Entertainer," merely observing "The musick by Mr. Handel."!!!

. . . . "Comme avec irrévérence
Parle des dieux ce maraud!"—*Amphytrion.*

After *Rodelinda*, *Scipio* was produced in 1726, of which the march became exceedingly popular. It was set to the song, "We follow brave Hannibal and Scipio," of which there is a copy in the British Museum. The authors of *Polly*, a continuation of the *Beggar's Opera*, also employed it in "Brave boys, prepare;" and this explains Burney's mistake, that this march was introduced into the *Beggar's Opera*. The march which Pepusch used for the *Beggar's Opera* was taken from *Rinaldo*.

The opera of *Alexander*, which was produced after *Scipio*, on the 7th of May, 1726, "took much" (to use the expression of Colman's little MS.); and, indeed, it was revived in 1727, 1728, and 1733. Senesino achieved in it an exploit which deserves to be recorded in history: When, in the part of Alexander, he led

[1] Two volumes in folio, without a date. "God save great George our King" is to be found in them; and this is the first known publication of the superb English National Anthem. It is entitled, "A Loyal Song, sung at the Theatre Royal, for two voices."

his soldiers to the assault of Ossidraca, he so far forgot himself in the heat of combat, as to stick his sword into one of the pasteboard stones of the wall of the town, and bore it in triumph before him as he entered the breach. This fact is reported in *The World*, for the 8th of February, 1753, by an old amateur, who congratulates Garrick upon having introduced a cascade of real water among his decorative improvements—"A puerility so renowned a general (said he) could never have committed, if the ramparts had been built, as in this enlightened age they would be, of real brick and stone."

"Will you forgive an elderly man (says he on another occasion), if he cannot help recollecting another passage that happened in his youth, and to the same excellent performer? He was stepping into Armida's enchanted bark, but, treading short, as he was more attentive to the accompaniment of the orchestra than to the breadth of the shore, he fell prostrate, and lay for some time in great pain, with the end of a wave running into his side. In the present state of things, the worst that could have happened to him would have been drowning—a fate far more becoming Rinaldo, especially in the sight of a British audience."

These anecdotes are droll, and well enough told; but they do not make a better cascade out of tin-plate and a piece of Dutch metal, than out of real water, for all that.

Admetus, produced in 1727, had nineteen consecutive representations, which is one of the longest runs recorded about that time. The air of Admetus, "Spera, si, mio caro," is considered to be one of Handel's finest inspirations. Hawkins says:—"Of this air the late Mr. John Lockman relates the following story, assuring his reader that himself was an eye witness of it, viz.:—When being at the house of Mr. Lee, a gentleman in Cheshire, whose daughter was a very fine performer on the harpsichord, he saw a pigeon, which, whenever the young lady played this song, and this only, would fly from an adjacent dove-house to the window in the parlour where she sat, and listen to it with the most pleasing emotions, and the instant the song was over, would return to the dove-house. (*Some Reflections concerning Operas*, &c., prefixed to *Rosalinda*, a musical drama by Mr.

Lockman, in quarto, 1740)."—It must be confessed that this was certainly a pigeon of taste.

This air was committed to Signora Faustina Bordini, better known as *la* Faustina, who had made her *début* (in 1726) in *Alexander*, and was almost immediately regarded as the rival of Signora Cuzzoni. Each lady had a zealous party of admirers, and the dispute ran as high as it did subsequently between the Gluckists and Piccinists in France. Colley Cibber (in his "Dramatic Works") represents the two heroines as carrying their mutual hatred to such a pitch as to come to actual blows:—"*The Contretemps, or the Rival Queens*, a small farce, as it has been lately acted with great applause, at H—d—r's [Heidegger's] private the—e [theatre], near the H—m— [Haymarket]." In this piece of extravagance there is not a grain of wit. "F—s—a [Faustina], a Queen of Bologna," and "C—z—ni [Cuzzoni], Princess of Modena," after having exchanged high words, seize each other by the hair, in spite of the interference of Heidegger and Senesino, and then they go off, Cuzzoni pursuing Faustina, who runs away. Handel has a part consisting of three lines, in which he advises that they be left to fight it out, inasmuch as the only way to calm their fury is to let them satisfy it.

Burney amuses himself with relating that the rival factions were destroyed in a very odd manner. The partisans of *la* Cuzzoni had made her swear on the Gospels that she would never accept an engagement for a less sum than *la* Faustina; so the managers who had heard of this fact, and who wished to put an end to a dispute which threatened to set all the town by the ears, gave *la* Faustina a guinea more upon the renewal of her engagement; whereupon *la* Cuzzoni, faithful to her oath, left the kingdom. The latter lady was ugly and ill made, but *la* Faustina was very handsome, and, as they were both exceedingly clever, that difference will serve to explain the reason why *la* Cuzzoni did not get the additional guinea. But in my humble opinion the anecdote is a mere tale, for we find the names of the two ladies in the opera-book of *Ptolemy* (1728), the last opera produced by the Royal Academy of Music, and they had both quitted London when the theatre reopened some time in the following

year. One of the thousand epigrams which fomented this quarrel has been preserved. It is directed against the Countess of Pembroke, whose friends used to hiss *la* Faustina :—

"Old poets sing that beasts did dance,
Whenever Orpheus played;
So to Faustina's charming voice,
Wise Pembroke's asses brayed."

Signora Faustina became the wife of Hasse, the composer; and as for the other lady, the *London Daily Post* of the 7th of September, 1741, contained this startling piece of intelligence :— "We hear from Italy that the famous singer, Mrs. C—z—ni is under sentence of death to be beheaded, for poisoning her husband!" Yet it is a question whether she was ever married; at all events, the sentence of decapitation must have been commuted into exile, since she made another appearance in England. The *General Advertiser* of the 20th of May, 1751, contains an advertisement from her, informing the public about "her pressing debts and desire to pay them by a *benefit*, which will be the last she will ever trouble them with." The concert took place on the 23rd of May, and the singers were Guadagni, Palma, and Signora Cuzzoni.

It was this lady who, in 1727, made such a sensation in *Ricardo Primo*, the third act of which (according to Burney) "is replete with beauties of every kind."

In this same year (1727), George II. succeeded his father. He was too fond of music to be satisfied at his coronation with that of the English composers, whom an old law compelled him to have in his royal chapels, so he requested Handel to give his assistance, who wrote the four anthems which are called the *Coronation Anthems*. These were performed at Westminster during the ceremony of the 11th of October, 1727, after having been solemnly rehearsed in the Cathedral on the 6th, in the presence of a numerous assemblage.[1] This work forms one of the most solid foundations of its author's glory. "Zadok, the priest," especially, is an inspiration of prodigious grandeur. The chorus, "God save the King" (which must not be confounded with the

[1] Malcolm.

National Anthem) is comparable in beauty to the "Hallelujah" chorus in *The Messiah*. Dr. William Crotch (who edited the *Coronation Anthems* for the Handel Society) says, at the end of his little preface:—"The Editor thinks it proper to state that he is not responsible for the manner in which the words are spelt, divided into syllables, or marked with punctuation;" from which it would appear that the Saxon musician has committed, in this great work, some sins against English prosody.

Upon many occasions he drew fragments from these works; notably for *Deborah* and the *Occasional Oratorio*,[1] and he appears even to have performed them at his theatre. The advertisement announcing the performance of *Esther*, on the 2nd of May, 1732, states:—"There will be no acting. The music to be disposed after the manner of the Coronation Service." They often figure in the programmes of the last century, and even in a handbill of the Coburg Theatre, dated 10th of March, 1820; but with the orchestra directors of the present day, they seem to have quite fallen into disgrace. During the last four years, the Sacred Harmonic Society alone has performed one of these anthems, "Zadok, the priest."

Dr. Rimbault possesses an old pamphlet (in quarto), printed at Dublin in 1727, by order of William Hawkins, Esq., Ulster King-at-Arms for all Ireland, entitled, "Ceremonial of the Coronation of His most Sacred Majesty King George the Second, and of his Royal Spouse Queen Caroline." This programme of the ceremonial at Westminster fixes the place of everything and the part of every actor. Handel's fourth Anthem, "Let thy hand," is not to be found there; but there are four anthems by composers whose names are not given.[2]

Siroe (or *Cyrus*) opened the season of 1728. The poem is by Metastasio, although Nicolo Haym passed himself off indirectly for the author in his dedication:—"To the most illustrious and excellent lords and gentlemen, the directors and sub-directors of the Royal Academy of Music, this drama is very humbly dedicated, by their most humble and most devoted servant, N.

[1] See "Catalogue."

[2] Preface of the Handel Society edition of the *Coronation Anthems*.

Haym." Considering this superlative humility towards "the most illustrious and excellent lords and gentlemen," it must be admitted that Haym did not pass for a Metastasio very cheaply. The *Daily Journal* of Monday, the 19th of February, 1728, which had not hitherto announced the first performance of *Siroe*, merely says:—"The King, Queen, and Princess Royal, and the Princesses Amelia and Caroline, went to the Opera House in the Haymarket on Saturday last, and saw performed *the* new opera called *Siroe*." It seemed, therefore, more important to the journalist to record that the King went to the theatre, than that the new opera was by Handel. It is not impossible, however, that the King and his august family did not see *Siroe* on that day, but some other work, for the same journal of the 28th of March following, contains a paragraph, the details of which seem to refer to something exceptional, like a first representation:—"At the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, on Saturday next, being the 30th of March, will be performed *a* new opera called *Siroe*. Tickets will be delivered at the office in the Haymarket, on Friday; and having no annual subscribers admitted this season, four hundred tickets and no more will be given out, at half a guinea each. No persons whatsoever will be admitted for money, nor any tickets sold at the bar, but in the proper offices. The gallery, 5*s*. By His Majesty's command, no persons whatsoever to be admitted behind the scenes. To begin exactly at 6 o'clock.—Vivant Rex et Regina."

Ptolemy, or *Tolemeo*, appeared in 1728. The echo air in that opera, "Dite che fà," excited quite a rage for imitation, but the opera was not performed more than seven times for all that. *Ptolemy*, nevertheless, reappeared on the 2nd of January, 1733.[1] A leaf added to the old book (doubtless belonging to that epoch), headed, "Additions and Alterations," does not contain less than seven airs and one new chorus. No author ever retouched his works so much and so frequently as Handel did. Being the director of a theatre, and often having new artists to produce, being gifted, moreover, with a prodigious facility of composition, he changed or added something at almost every revival, sometimes to

[1] Colman.

please the singers and sometimes to offer a new attraction to the public.

At the same time as *Ptolemy* and *Siroe* were making their appearance in the Haymarket, John Rich, the proprietor of the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, brought out there Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, one of the few, among English operas, which has survived the day of its birth. The music of this was entirely made up of old local ballads, put into score by Dr. Pepusch. The whole town hastened to admire it; at the first run it had sixty-three consecutive representations,[1] which caused people to say that "it made Gay *rich*, and Rich *gay*." It would be difficult to imagine anything more revolting than the morality of the poem. Macheath, the chief of a band of highwaymen, is an amiable, pleasant, and happy fellow, adored by the women, triumphant over justice, and, in fact, the Robert Macaire of the eighteenth century. Peachum, the old receiver of stolen goods, traffics with justice to save his cleverest thieves, and outrages the best feelings of humanity with imperturbable coolness. He ill-treats, for instance, his daughter Polly, because she wishes to marry like an honest girl, and tells her that he should never have lived so happily with her mother if he had been fool enough to marry her. The success of such lessons could not but give them a most dangerous influence, and augment the vices of an age in which the Queen herself, the accomplice of the corrupt Walpole, was accused of sympathizing with Macheath. In the *Lives of the Queens of England of the House of Hanover*, it is said:[2]—"Caroline herself was probably not opposed to the *morale* of the piece; her own chairmen were suspected of being in league with highwaymen, and probably were; but on their being arrested and dismissed from her service by the master of her household, who suspected their guilt, she was indignant at the liberty taken, and insisted on their being restored. She had no objection to be safely carried by suspected confederates of highwaymen."

The success was terrible. Referring to Polly, the heroine of the play, Carey wrote:—

[1] *London Magazine*, December, 1754.

[2] Vol. i. page 231.

"She has fired the town, has quite cut down
The opera of *Rolli*;
Go where you will, the subject still
Is pretty, pretty Polly.
There's Madam *Faustina*, Catso!
And else Madame *Catsoni*;
Likewise Signior Senisino,
Are *tutti abbandoni*."

We may judge of the esteem in which this piece of licentiousness was held by the number of compositions which obtained analogous titles. In the catalogue of Watts, who published the handbooks, may be found, *The Village Opera, The Lover's Opera, The Harlequin's Opera,* and *The Quaker's Opera*—all "with the musick prefix'd to each song."

But, nevertheless, there were not wanting a few sensible and honest literati, who attempted to combat the prevailing epidemic. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1731, informs us that—"*The Grecian Coffee-house*, February 8th, takes notice of the strange fondness the world has for a new humour, which they are never tired of till it surfeits. Instances the *Beggar's Opera,* and the inundation of ballad operas that succeeded it. Tragedies and comedies sink in esteem, and all the play-houses subsist by *ballads* and *harlequins*. This custom of jading a humour is the highroad to absurdity and folly. When the fancy of verses in *burlesque* first began in France, it grew to such a height that a book was printed entitled '*La Passion de notre Sauveur en vers burlesques.*'"

Arbuthnot, whose sound and healthy wit was always on the right side, pointed out also with indignation the obstinacy with which this piece was kept in vogue. Hogarth, too, who was never wanting in a good cause, attacked it in one of those caricatures, in which each stroke of the pencil has a meaning. The actors, with the heads of wolves, asses, cats, and oxen, are playing upon a platform which is erected in the middle of a theatre, the boxes of which are full of spectators, whilst (with the grossness of the times) the most disgusting deposits are being made beneath the eyes of the spectators. At the foot of the platform stands a crowd of nobles and of people in a state of ecstacy. One of the nobles, who carries a cross and a ribbon of some

order upon his breast, has fallen on his knees in a transport of admiration. Beneath the stage is Orpheus, dying of inanition, and letting fall from his hands his sempiternal lyre. On either side may be seen a gallows, and a tavern-sign bearing the insignia of the garter, with its shameless motto—"*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*" In the distance, the angel of harmony is flying across a dark cloud, and below are these lines:—

> "Britons, attend!—view this harmonious stage,
> And listen to those notes which charm the age;
> Thus shall your tastes in sound and sense be shown,
> And *Beggar's Op'ras* ever be your own."

But it was of no use, Macheath still remained the favourite of the public. And—to see the contradictions of the human mind!—this mockery of all decency, this work, more revolting than the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, has preserved to this day its popularity among the most pious people that is to be found within the four quarters of the globe. The *Beggar's Opera* yet keeps possession of the English stage, under permission of the same Lord Chamberlain who thought it consistent with his duty to prevent Madame Ristori from playing *Mirra*. Year after year it makes its appearance in some part of London, to sing its shameful songs, and preach the morality of the hulks. In May, 1856, it appeared in the bills of Sadler's Wells Theatre, one hundred and twenty-eight years after its first performance! It must be confessed that this swallowing of old Peachum's impudent tirades, expressed in good broad English, and this straining at the Italian tragedy of *Mirra*, smacks strongly of the morality of Arsinoé, in the *Misanthrope*:—

> "Elle fait des tableaux couvrir les nudités,
> Mais elle a de l'amour pour les réalités."

The theatre ought certainly to be as unfettered as the press. Censorships and interdictions serve only the passions of the censor; and to prohibit is not to refute. *Beggar's Operas* are, after all, only the evil of a good, and unfortunately the one cannot be destroyed without the other. These observations, therefore, are by no means intended to suggest the prohibition of Gay's piece, but only to appreciate the taste which admires

these representations of crime made pleasant, and prostitution made interesting. If the manners and sentiments of a nation are to be judged by its dramatic predilections, the permanent triumph of Macheath, and the enormous and more recent success of the *Traviata* (in spite of its inferior music), are certainly not very creditable to England.

The *Beggar's Opera* is full of biting allusions to the minister Walpole, some of which the Jacobite Pope had assisted in sharpening. Its success at the time it was first produced was very much due to the attacks which it directed against the corruption of the Court. But that cannot be the cause of its being in favour now; the people of these days having no reason to complain of the Court, the piece has no other attraction than its shamelessness and its rather pretty ballads.

The composer of *Polly* (a sequel to the *Beggar's Opera*, which was produced in April, 1729) put into practice the morality of his model; for he stole some of his music from Handel. "Abroad after misses," and "Cheer up, my lads," are made out of two minuets belonging to *Water Music;* "Brave boys, prepare," is a march in *Scipio*.

"Vous avez de l'esprit si vous n'avez du cœur."—*Nicomede.*

The noble compositions of Handel and of Bononcini were far from obtaining a success equal to that of Macheath's ballads. The Italian Opera was not more successful under the direction of the Royal Academy of Music than it was before. In 1728, the funds raised by subscription were exhausted, and it was determined that the undertaking should be dissolved. It had been a loss from the very beginning. On the 7th of November, 1720, the *Daily Courant* contained an advertisement from the Committee of Direction, making a call of five per cent. upon the subscribers. On the 10th of July, 1721, they made a *sixth* call of a similar nature. Two years after its foundation, the Academy had spent £15,000, and the Committee made a new appeal for funds, to which the cooled enthusiasm of some of the subscribers responded but ill; for on the 2nd of November, 1721, in pursuance of a resolution passed at a general meeting, the

Daily Courant published a note, giving "notice to every such defaulter, that unless he pays the call on or before the 22nd of November next, his name will be printed, and he shall be proceeded against with the utmost rigour of the law." On the 8th of April, 1723, another threat appears, to the effect that "proper measures will be taken to oblige them to pay what is due." About this time also, the noble directors of the theatre had recourse to an expedient for raising money which proved that they had become not very particular as to what means they resorted to for ameliorating their situation; they resolved to give subscription balls, of a nature not very dissimilar to those which are occasionally held at the same place in this moral age. Malcolm says,[1] that "one of the entertainments for which the Opera-house was used in 1723 attracted the notice of the Grand Jury of Middlesex, whose presentment follows:—'Whereas there has been lately published a proposal for six ridottos or balls, to be managed by subscription, at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, we, the Grand Jury of the County of Middlesex, sworn to inquire for our Sovereign Lord the King and the body of this county, conceiving the same to be wicked and illegal practices, and which, if not timely suppressed, may promote debauchery, lewdness, and ill conversation; from a just abhorrence, therefore, of such sort of assemblies, which we apprehend are contrary to law and good manners, and give great offence to His Majesty's good and virtuous subjects, we do present the same, and recommend them to be prosecuted and suppressed as common nuisances to the public, as nurseries of lewdness, extravagance, and immorality, and also a reproach and scandal to civil government.' This presentment had no effect whatever."

In spite, however, even of this expedient, the finances did not improve. Burney mentions the constant advertisements of the Academy for calls of five per cent. In May, 1727, the seventeenth of such advertisements appeared, and in July the nineteenth. Neither the genius of the principal composer, nor the merit of the artists, was sufficient to attract the public. The theatre became more and more neglected. Haym, in dedicating

[1] Vol. ii., page 157.

the libretto of *Ptolemy* to the Earl of Albemarle, implores his protection for the Italian Opera, "almost in the last extremity" ("Casi cadente nell' Inghilterra"). A letter, attributed to Arbuthnot, and inserted in the *London Journal* of the 23rd of March, 1728, makes bitter complaints on the same subject: —"As there is nothing which surprises all true lovers of music more than the neglect into which the Italian operas are at present fallen, so I cannot but think it a very extraordinary instance of the fickle and inconstant temper of the English nation; a failing which they have always been endeavouring to cast upon their neighbours in France,[1] but to which they themselves have at least a good title, as will appear to any one who will take the pains to consult our historians."

But whether this was true or not, it is certain that the £50,000 which was subscribed in 1720 by the founders of the Royal Academy of Music, was all gone in 1728. The promoters were tired of so costly a pleasure, so they put an end to the business by closing their theatre on the 1st of June, 1728, and the Italian company dispersed over the Continent.

If the rent of the theatre, from 1720 to 1728, contributed to this sad result, it must have been considerably augmented since 1706. In that year we learn, from *The Daily Post* of the 9th of April, that "Mr. Swiny has taken the theatre in the Haymarket for £5 per day, not to exceed £700 per annum." As many of the operas (such as *Flavius, Scipio, Siroe,* and *Ptolemy*) were mounted in twelve, ten, and even seven days, we cannot suppose that they occasioned any very ruinous expense. To explain the rapidity with which this was occasionally done, we must suppose that works were sometimes being copied and rehearsed whilst Handel was composing, or even improvising

[1] Lord Chesterfield, who had lived for some time in France, also protested against this singular impression which the London Cockneys entertained of the French nation:—"The colder northern nations generally look upon France as a whistling, singing, dancing, frivolous nation: this notion is very far from being a true one, though many *petits maitres* by their behaviour seem to justify it; but those very *petits maitres,* when mellowed by age and experience, very often turn out very able men. The number of great generals and statesmen, as well as excellent authors, that France has produced, is an undeniable proof that it is not that frivolous, unthinking, empty nation that northern prejudice supposes it."—Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son.*

them. In speaking of *Pastor Fido*, Colman says, "the habits were old;" and when he mentions *Ezio*, *Orlando*, and some others, he adds, with his usual brevity, "the clothes and scenes all new." Therefore it was not every new opera that was produced with fresh scenes and costumes. Indeed, it would appear, from the amusing philippic which will presently be quoted, that these accessories did not always occasion any very great expense. It is Malcolm[1] who (in 1723) quotes the following, as "a just criticism extracted from a cotemporary journal:"—

"When we come to consider the decoration of the stage at present, we shall sometimes find it magnificent and well ordered. In this I exclude the habits of the characters or persons of the drama, in which the propriety is not near so well observed as in the scenery; for we shall often see a shabby king surrounded by a party of his guards, every man of which belongs to the ragged regiment. One would think that the managers of the theatre were republicans in their principles, and they did this on purpose to bring monarchy into contempt; for it is certain that Duncan, King of Scotland, has not had a new habit for this last century; and the mighty Julius Cæsar, first Emperor of Rome, appears as ragged as a colt; and many other monarchs I could name, that are no better dressed than heathen philosophers. The reason is, that you will find those parts are not played by any of the *three* managers, and it is their awkward vanity to appear fine themselves though never so much out of character."

Since the kings were so shabbily equipped, it is clear that the receipts of the Royal Academy of Music must have been very poor to have admitted of the dissipation of £50,000. The small number of representations which even the best works enjoyed, proves also that even small audiences could only be attracted by continually tempting them with noveltics. In a theatre the losses mount up as quickly when it is out of favour, as the profits do when the public is pleased. Mr. Delafield lost £60,000 at Covent Garden Theatre in two years only, 1848 and 1849; during which time (intending to rival the attraction of Mlle. Jenny Lind at the Opera-house in the Haymarket) he spent £25,000

[1] Vol. ii., page 156.

in mounting four operas only—the *Prophète*, the *Huguenots*, *Lucrezia*, and *La Donna del Lago*. At Paris, the *Juif Errant* cost £6000 in being made ready for its failure. No one (not even *a republican*) could desire to return to the shabby kings and old clothes of the Royal Academy of 1720; but there is certainly some danger of the costly and luxurious decoration which is now in vogue. In this may be found the reason why managers will not produce the works of any man whose name is not a kind of guarantee of success; for they will not risk £6000 upon the name of a new man. And this is why, for the last twenty years, France has not produced one single new composer. Ten die of weariness before one can get a piece represented, and then only by the force of interest and intrigues.

The enterprise of the Academy, far from being continually prosperous (according to the assertion of Mainwaring and Hawkins, which is adopted by almost every biographer), was a constant source of loss. The offensive threats addressed to the defaulting subscribers in 1721 and 1723, and the complaints of Haym and Arbuthnot, prove this beyond a doubt. Public indifference was the real cause of the Academy's dissolution, and not, as has been pretended, the violent and imperious character of Handel, which, as well as his quarrels with Senesino, is said to have disgusted the noble directors. The best proof that these quarrels are imaginary is, that Senesino afterwards returned to the Haymarket when Handel took the theatre on his own account. Senesino, whose fine talent was sure to make his fortune anywhere, would not have quitted Italy (at the same time breaking, as we shall presently see, an engagement which he had entered into at Rome) to place himself at the disposal of a man whom he hated; and Handel, for his part, was not the man to engage an artist a second time, who had previously been wanting in respect towards himself. The disputes between him and Senesino arose only during their second connection; and as for the enmity which caused the nobility to raise another theatre in opposition to his, that manifested itself a long time subsequently. Hawkins, in spite of his relation with the great composer, has utterly confounded the dates; for he attributes to 1728 events which did not occur before 1733.

CHAPTER IV.

1729—1732.

HANDEL TAKES THE ITALIAN THEATRE WITH HEIDEGGER—SUCCESSIVE FAILURE OF ALL HIS PRODUCTIONS—"ESTHER," THE FIRST ENGLISH ORATORIO—ORIGIN OF ORATORIOS—OF THEIR PERFORMANCE WITHOUT ACTION—"ACIS AND GALATEA"—OPERA 1ª AND 2ª OF HANDEL'S INSTRUMENTAL WORKS.

Handel now possessed £10,000, which he had saved out of the profits of his previous works. In spite of the indifference which the public had manifested, and of the enormous loss which had been incurred in the face of a subscription supported by the entire aristocracy, he made arrangements with Heidegger, the proprietor of the Haymarket Theatre, to bring out operas there, and in partnership, for three years; and he went to Italy to bring together a company. In passing through Hamburg on his way back, he engaged a basso, Godfred Reimschneider, first singer at the cathedral of that town; but he did not see his old friend Mattheson, who says, with the dryness of a man who does not wish to complain, "he made a journey to Dresden to seek for some singers, and I heard that he passed through Hamburg." Handel preserved no affection for Mattheson, with whom he had been so intimate in his youth; but what was the reason of this does not appear.

The *Daily Courant* of the 2nd of July, 1729, announces his return to London in the following manner:—"Mr. Handel, who is just returned from Italy, has contracted with the following persons to perform in the Italian Opera:—Sig. Bernacchi, who is esteemed the best singer in Italy; Signora Merighi, a woman of a very fine presence, an excellent actress, and a very good singer, with a counter-tenor voice; Signora Strada, who hath a very fine treble voice, a person of singular merit; Sig. Annibale

Pio Fabri, a most excellent tenor, and a fine voice; his wife, who performs a man's part exceeding well; Signora Bertoldi, who has a very fine treble voice,[1] she is also a very genteel actress both in men and women parts; a bass voice from Hamburg, there being none worth engaging in Italy." This last was Godfred Reimschneider.

It must be admitted that this enumeration of marvels sounds rather pompously. It would appear, however, that ladies capable of "performing a man's part" were very much in vogue; since Handel, as we shall presently see, found it necessary to add a third to his company.

These artists disembarked at Dover, about the end of September, and the Italian Opera, which had been closed for eighteen months, reopened on the 2nd of December, 1729, with *Lothario*, a new score by the manager. Burney places this above all the others. After having written *Lothario* amid the bustle of preparation, and the complete reorganization of a theatre, Handel produced *Parthenope* on the 24th of February, 1730.

Parthenope was published by Walsh, who became at that time Handel's sole publisher. The arrangements between them were long, and difficult of conclusion. After having had *Rinaldo* in 1711, Walsh had nothing more from Handel until 1721. It was Cluer who, in 1720, printed the *Suites de Pièces*, and Richard Meares who published *Radamisto*. In 1722, having doubtless received an offer from Walsh, he published through him, but always on his own account, *Floridante*, *Otho*, and *Flavio*, successively. It appears, however, as if he was not satisfied with him, since it was Cluer who published *Julius Cæsar* in 1724, and who was his publisher up to 1728; and it is to be regretted that he did not always remain so. This rival of Walsh was, apparently, an engraver himself. His editions are infinitely more beautiful than all others, for they manifest the hand of an artist. His *Julius Cæsar*, in octavo, is a very pretty little volume, and his *Suites de Pièces* are admirably engraved, with a title-page of decorative letters in the

[1] This is a mistake: S[a]. Bertoldi was a contralto, and her right name was Bertolli.

writing-master style, composed with a taste and executed with a purity which could not be surpassed in these days. In *A Pocket Companion* (a collection of music in two volumes, octavo), he says :—"The proprietor of this book will speedily publish (in a neat, large, octavo size, for the pocket) the celebrated OPERA of *Julius Cæsar*, he having a grant for the sole engraving, printing, and publishing the same." His two editions of *Julius Cæsar* (in quarto and in octavo) have, moreover, the patent which has been already mentioned in connection with *Radamisto*. Such a declaration seems to have been intended for a warning to all pirates, but it did not prevent Walsh from reproducing all Cluer's operas. Nevertheless, in 1728, Walsh made new arrangements with Handel, for he it was who published *Ptolemy*, to the exclusion of Cluer, who did not publish any edition of *Ptolemy*. It would seem, however, as if they parted once more, for the original edition of *Lotharius*, in 1729, was by Cluer; but, in 1730, they came together again for the fourth time, and were no more separated. From *Parthenope* to *The Triumph of Time*, Handel's last work, everything was published by Walsh.

It is probable that there was some sort of treaty between them. If so, what was its effect? Upon this point there exists vague tradition which may here be recorded.

By a happy accident, I chanced to meet Mr. John Caulfield, who had been an engraver of music, and whose father, who had followed the same business, was apprenticed to Walsh, by whom he had been employed to carry the proofs for Handel's correction. Mr. Caulfield, who is eighty-three years old, and is one of the few living persons who can boast of having spoken to one who had spoken to Handel, has heard it said at the paternal fireside, that Walsh, who was extremely rich, very parsimonious, and so suspicious that he would sometimes leave pieces of gold upon his desk in order to test the honesty of his clerks and workmen, gave twenty guineas to the great composer for each oratorio which he printed. This is scarcely credible. A singer of moderate order will now receive twenty-five guineas for singing four pieces in a concert.

Nevertheless, the memory of the little apprentice may, after all, be more exact than we are now disposed to believe; the labour of the intellect was at that time shamefully underpaid. We shall presently see that the printer of a volume of madrigals, by Lotti, acquired possession of it in consideration of *thirty copies of the work itself*. Dr. J. Warton relates that Dryden received from his bookseller about £25 for each of his pieces; and that in 1715, Tonson paid Richard Steele £50 for *Addison's Drummer;* and that, in 1721, Dr. Young had only £50 for his famous piece, *Revenge*. Everybody knows that the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* was bought for £5, with an agreement to pay £15 more should the work attain a third edition; which was something less than £7 for each edition.

But if twenty guineas were given for each oratorio, what would be the price of an opera? That is not known; but whatever it was, it is certain that Walsh proved himself to be a very active and enterprising, if not a very careful publisher. He brought out immediately the sequel to the collection of *Overtures for the Harpsichord*, commenced in 1726, and which had been stationary at the first volume since that time; he commenced his great collections of *Apollo's Feast, Chamber Aires*, and *Overtures in eight parts*;[1] he published several things which had been previously written, but which still remained in manuscript, such as *Water Music*, the Utrecht *Te Deum*, and *Jubilate*, &c. In fact, whatever Handel wrote he printed immediately, after his fashion—that is to say, very imperfectly. They seem to have become very good friends in 1739, for the edition of "Twelve Grand Concertos," published in this year, contains the copy of a patent, dated the 31st of October, 1739, which grants to Walsh, "at the request of Handel," the exclusive right of publishing all his works:—"Whereas, George Frederick Handel, of the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, in our county of Middlesex, Esq., hath humbly represented unto us, that he hath, with great labour and expense, composed several works consisting of vocal and instrumental music, and hath authorized and appointed John Walsh, of the parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, in

[1] See in the "Catalogue"—*Publications of Handel's Works.*

our said county of Middlesex, to print and publish the same; and hath, therefore, humbly besought us to grant our royal privilege and license to the said John Walsh, for the sole engraving, printing, and publishing the said works, for the term of fourteen years; we, being willing to give all due encouragement to works of this nature, are graciously pleased to condescend to his request; and we therefore," &c.

John Walsh was, undoubtedly, the greatest musical publisher of the eighteenth century. Biographers do not say anything about him, yet there are few men whose names have been more frequently printed than his. His father, whose name also was John, published *Arsinoë* in 1705, and settled in Catherine Street, Strand, where their immense establishment long remained. He was printer to Queen Anne.[1] The son died on the 15th of January, 1766, worth £40,000,[2] which was not all gained in the most honourable manner. In the article "Geminiani," of the *Musical Biography*, we find:—"Geminiani's op. 2 (MS.) had been surreptitiously obtained by Walsh, who was about to print it; but thinking it would be benefited by the corrections of the author, he gave him the alternative, either of correcting it, or submitting it to appear with its faults before the world. Geminiani rejected the insulting offer with the contempt it deserved, and instituted a process in Chancery for an injunction against the sale of the book. Walsh compounded the matter with him, and the work was published under the inspection of the author. The opera *Terza* he SOLD to Walsh, who, in his advertisements, gave the public to understand that he came honestly by the copy."

It is undeniable that Walsh pirated all the works of Handel which did not belong to him. These piracies are anonymous, but there is no doubt that he was the culprit; for the plates are

1 "Songs in the Opera called *Arsinoë*. London: Printed for J. Walsh, servant to Her Majesty, at ye Golden Harp and Hoboy, in Katherine Street, near Somerset House, in the Strand."

2 "*January 15th*, died, Mr. John Walsh, the most eminent music-seller in the kingdom. . . . . *January 21st*, Mr. John Walsh was interred with great funeral pomp at St. Mary's the Strand. It is said he died worth £40,000."—(*Public Advertiser*, 1766.)

to be found in the subsequent publications of the same works to which he attached his name, when his arrangements with the author gave him a right to do so.

This man published an immense number of works, but without care, without taste, and without the smallest scintilla of artistic spirit. It will be seen, by the "Catalogue," that he made the most horrible mixtures with his plates, and that he employed them, in turn, in many different collections. He was like an apothecary, who mixes up all sorts of ingredients to obtain something good—to sell; and he would have shaken up together the five books of Moses, if he had supposed that the public were likely to buy one copy more. This may be seen in his "Delizie dell' opera," into which he interpolated the "Stabat Mater" of Pergolese, and the "Salve Regina" of Hasse. Many of the airs in his editions of Handel have almost as many ciphers of pagination as harlequin's coat has colours. Those of *Sosarme* have as many as *four*, three at the top and one at the bottom; proving that they had already been used in three other collections, before they formed part of the complete edition. The two books of "Favourite Songs in Pastor Fido," which appeared in 1734, are curious specimens of this kind of medley. After pages 1 to 10 there is a series of 1 to 6; the following page has no number; then come 7 and 8, and then 23, 24, 25, 26; then no number; then 2 and 3; then 113 and 114; then 15 and 18, and so on! The fact is, that out of the sixteen pieces which are included in these two books, only eight belong to the work whose title they bear; the rest are from *Ezio*, *Ricardo*, and *Rodelinda*. Those taken from *Ezio* still bear upon the margin the names of Onoria and of Fulvia, personages belonging to *Ezio*. These books contain, however, all that has ever been published of Handel's *Pastor Fido!* *Esther* offers a still more extraordinary medley, and one is really astonished that a publisher should have had so little regard for himself, for his author, and for the public.[1]

[1] The overture, which is paginated 161, proceeds regularly up to 167, and then comes page 8, "Breathe soft," without a title, without prelude, and without orchestration; then pages 11—44, where is "Watchful Angels," headed "*Deborah;*" afterwards, "'Endless Fame,' *sung by Signora Strada!*" paginated on the first plate, 72–41; on the second, 42–73; on the third, 74—43; and on the fourth, 44—75.

These things have seemed to me to be worthy of remark, for they prove how little confidence can be placed in the publications of Walsh; they show how the works of Handel were printed in the middle of the eighteenth century, when he was living, under his own eyes, and even upon the theatre of his glory. They must, nevertheless, have brought very great profit to the publisher, for there are very few of his operas which have not been pirated. *Alexander* and *Scipio* were engraved at one and the same time by Cluer, by Walsh, and by Meares.

It should also be observed that, with the exception of *Alexander's Feast* and of *Acis*, not one of Walsh's books contains anything but airs and duets. He seems to have been afflicted very severely with a species of *chorophobia;* for, during the whole of his long career as a musical publisher, he did not publish ten choruses.

The composers of the eighteenth century did not attach sufficient importance to the publication of their works. They

The same air reappears in the book of "The Most Favourite Songs in *Deborah*," paginated 12, 13, 14, and 15; but always "sung by Signora Strada," although it belongs to the part of Ahasuerus. Afterwards, page (9)—48, "'Tune your harps,' sung by Signora Strada." The plates of "Tune your harps," and of "Praise the Lord," were those engraved for "The Most Celebrated Songs in *Esther;*" they bear the numbers 9 and 12 in this anterior publication, the pagination of which is bracketed. In page 51—(12) is "'Praise the Lord,' sung by Signora Strada, Mrs. Robinson, and Mrs. Davis"—three names for a single air. Further on we find, at page 32—69, "When the sun o'er yonder hills," and at page 14—60, "Sacred Raptures"—both pieces from *Solomon*, which was produced in 1748! The heading of "So much Beauty" is an enigma, which may be subjoined for the amusement of the ingenious:—

"16. Deborah. 91.
'Flowing Joys,'
Sung by Sig^a. Strada."

"So much beauty" belongs to the part of Mordecai; and certainly Signora Strada, a high soprano, could never have attempted it in her life. But why "Deborah" at the head of an air in *Esther?* and what is the meaning of that species of memorandum—"Flowing Joys?"

I have found an air, "Flowing Joys," interpolated into the Second Act of *Judas Maccabæus*, in the MS. collection which belonged to Smith. It is very clear that it did not originally form part of the copy, but has since been added; but what connection it can have with Walsh's plate is still a mystery. It does not appear in any book of *Esther* or of *Deborah;* and, besides, there is nothing in it to make it at all worthy of its presumed author. It is to be found in a book of *Judas Maccabæus*, with other strange airs; and this book belongs, without a doubt, to the epoch when the inheritor of Handel's MSS. was making in them some very disrespectful interpolations.

left them to merchants to make the best market of them. With the exception of *Alexander's Feast,* there is not a single complete score by Handel belonging to this epoch; even those which are "published by the author," and to which he has thus given the guarantee of his name, have many omissions more or less important. *Radamisto,* for example, which was notoriously corrected by himself, has not the quartett, "O cedere o perir." One would certainly have supposed that these were entirely engraved for him. But no. *Otho* and *Flavius,* although "published by the author," contain plates, the heterogeneous pagination of which attests that they had already been used somewhere else. In fact, the operas, above all, may be regarded as almost unedited; for there is not one in which the recitatives have not been suppressed, and also the greater part of the accompaniment—not one in which large and deplorable excisions have not been effected. The *Alessandro,* published by Cluer, in 1726, for example, lacks not less than thirteen pieces. Of *Ariodante, Pastor Fido, Muzio,* and *Hymen,* there are nothing but books of "Favourite Songs."[1] Society being not yet sufficiently advanced in scientific knowledge to be able to count upon the interest which a complete score would excite, they did not print more than would be required by amateurs who sang to the harpsichord. It was in the copies by hand that the composer deposited the whole of his ideas, and this explains the value set upon those which were made by Christopher Smith; and we can understand how it was that Walsh, in spite of the jumble which he made of his publications, remained to the end Handel's publisher. It should be added that, however great may be our indignation against him, his editions contain a certain number of pieces which cannot possibly be found either at Buckingham Palace or in any of Smith's copies. These were probably called for by some fortuitous circumstance during the rehearsals, composed upon the spot, and sent to the printer

[1] *Amadis, Jupiter in Argos,* the serenata *Parnasso in Festa,* the oratorio *Trionfo del Tempo,* and the masque *Terpsichore,* although produced at London, have, nevertheless, remained entirely unpublished; so also have anterior works, *Roderigo, Sylla,* the German *Passion,* the Italian serenata, *Aci e Galatea,* and a great quantity of church music.

before Handel had the time, or took the trouble, to add them to the manuscript. It would be impossible, therefore, without collating Walsh's publications with the original MSS., to furnish a really complete edition of Handel's works.

And now, having sufficiently discussed these minor details, let us return to Handel's public life. *Parthenope*, which Burney declares to be one of the finest dramatic productions of the author, enjoyed only seven performances, and *Lothario* could obtain no more than ten. Handel was of opinion that the cause of this was the want of a leading singer in his company, and he determined to procure one. Thanks to the English minister at Florence, he was able to persuade Senesino to return, who had been singing in Venice since his departure from England. Two letters, written by Handel, upon this matter, are to be found in the correspondence of the two Colmans. They are in French. The original of the second was offered for sale among a collection of autographs, in 1856, and was purchased for £12 by the Sacred Harmonic Society, who have kindly furnished me with a fac-simile. It is given word for word. The Colman to whom it is addressed was Francis Colman, the author of the *Opera Register*, and father of George Colman, the dramatic author:—

"*A Monsieur, Monsieur Colman, Envoyé Extraordinaire de S. M. Britannique, auprès de S. A. R. le Duc de Toscane à Florence.*

"Londres, ce $\frac{19}{30}$ de Juin, 1730.

"Monsieur,—Depuis que j'ay eu l'honneur de vous écrire, on a trouvé moyen d'engager de nouveau la Signora Merighi, et comme c'est une voix de contr'alto il nous conviendroit présentement que la femme qu'on doit engager en Italie fût un soprano. J'écris aussi avec cet ordinaire à Mr. Swinny pour cet effet, en luy recommandant en même tems que la femme qu'il pourra vous proposer fasse le Rolle d'homme aussi bien que celuy de femme. Il y a lieu de croire que vous n'avez pas encore pris d'engagement pour un femme contr'alto, mais en cas que cela soit fait, il faudrait s'y en tenir.

"Je prends la liberté de vous prier de nouveau qu'il ne soit

pas fait mention dans les contrâts du premier, second ou troisième Rolle, puisque cela nous gêne dans le choix du Drama, et est d'ailleurs sujet à de grands inconvéniens. Nous espérons aussi d'avoir par vôtre assistance un homme et une femme pour la saison prochaine, qui commence avec le mois d'Octob^r^, de l'année courante et finit le mois de Juillet, 1731,[1] et nous attendons avec impatience d'en apprendre des nouvelles pour en informer la Cour.

"Il ne me reste qu'à vous réitérer mes assurances de l'obligation particulière que je vous aurai de votre bonté envers moi à cet egard, qui ai l'honneur d'être, avec affection respectueuse,

"Monsieur,

"Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

"George Frideric Handel."[2]

Owen Swiny, the former manager of the Haymarket, then happened to be in Italy with Lord Boyne and Mr. Walpole, whom he accompanied. He wrote to Colman, from Bologna,

[1] These were, perhaps, the terms usually adopted in contracts; but, in point of fact, the theatrical season did not commence before November, and concluded in May or June.

[2] Translation of the Letter.

"*To Mr. Colman, Envoy Extraordinary of his Britannic Majesty at the Court of S. A. R. the Duke of Tuscany, at Florence.*

"London, $\frac{12}{30}$ of June, 1730.

"Sir,—Since I last had the honour of writing to you, means have been found to re-engage Signora Merighi, and as she has a contralto voice, it would now suit us if the woman to be engaged in Italy were a soprano. I am also writing by this post to Mr. Swiny to the same effect, recommending him, at the same time, that the woman whom he may propose to you shall be able to play a man's part as well as a woman's. It is probable that you may not yet have engaged a contralto woman, but in case you have done so, we must be satisfied, and not engage any other.

"I take the liberty of asking you again, to make no mention in the contracts of the first, second, or third parts, because that hampers us in the choice of the drama, and is, moreover, the subject of great inconvenience. We hope also to obtain, through your assistance, a man and a woman for next season, which begins in the month of October in the current year, and finishes in the month of July, 1731; and we are impatiently expecting some news about it in order to inform the Court.

"It only remains for me to reiterate the assurances of the personal obligation which I am under for your kindness to me in this respect, who have the honour to be, with respectful affection, Sir,

"Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

"George Frideric Handel."

on the 12th of July, mentioning letters which he had received from Handel, and proceeds :—

"I find that Senesino, or Carestini, are desired at one thousand two hundred guineas each, if they are to be had. I am sure that Carestini is engaged at Milan, and has been so for many months past; and I hear that Senesino is engaged for the ensuing carnival at Rome. If we can neither get Senesino nor Carestini, then Mr. Handel desires to have a man soprano, and a woman contralto, and that the price for both must not exceed one thousand, or eleven hundred guineas; and that the persons must set out for London at the latter end of August, or beginning of September, and that no engagement must be made with one, without a certainty of getting the other."

Senesino and Carestini were each of them, therefore, as good as a woman and a man. The following letter informs us of the result of these negotiations :—

"A Londres, $\frac{27}{16}$ de Octob^{r}, 1730.

"Monsieur,—Je viens de recevoir l'honneur de votre lettre du 22 du passée, N. S., par laquelle je vois les raisons qui vous ont déterminé d'engager S^{r}. Sinesino sur le pied de quatorze cent ghinées, à quoy nous acquiesçons, et je vous fais mes très-humbles remercîments des peines que vous avez bien voulu prendre dans cette affaire. Le dit S^{r}. Sinesino est arrivé icy il y a 12 jours et je n'ai pas manqué, sur la présentation de votre lettre, de luy payer à compte de son salaire les cent ghinées que vous luy aviez promis. Pour ce qui est de la Sig^{ra}. Pisani, nous ne l'avons pas eue, et comme la saison est fort avancée et qu'on commencera bientôt les opéras, nous nous passerons cette année-cy d'une autre femme d'Italie, ayant déjà disposé les opéras pour la compagnie que nous avons présentement.

"Je vous suis pourtant très-obligé d'avoir songé à la Sig^{ra}. Madalena Pieri, en cas que nous eussions eu absolument besoin d'une autre femme qui acte en homme; mais nous nous contenterons des cinq personnages, ayant actuellement trouvé de quoy suppléer au reste.

"C'est à votre généreuse assistance que la Cour et la Noblesse

devront en partie la satisfaction d'avoir présentement une compagnie à leur gré, en sorte qu'il ne me reste qu'à vous en marquer mes sentiments particuliers de gratitude et à vous assurer de l'attention très-respectueuse avec laquelle j'ay l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,

"Votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur,

"GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL."

"A Monsieur, Monsieur Colman, Envoyé Extraordinaire de sa Majesté Britannique auprès de son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc de Toscane à Florence."[1]

These letters are not merely interesting on account of their signature, but because they furnish proof that Handel, in reviving the opera, had the special protection of the King and (more still) of a portion of the nobility. The Envoy Extraordinary of His Britannic Majesty would certainly not have busied himself about making engagements for "first, second, and third parts," if he had not received an order to that effect; and the *impressario* of the Haymarket, if he had not been recommended, would not have written to an ambassador, "we are impatiently expecting some news in order to inform the Court." If the

[1] "London, $\frac{27}{16}$ October, 1730.

"SIR,—I had the honour of receiving your letter on the 22nd of last month (N. S.), by which I perceive the reasons which have induced you to engage S^r. Sinesino for 1400 guineas, to which we agree; and I tender you my very humble thanks for the trouble which you have kindly taken in this matter. The aforesaid S^r. Sinesino arrived here twelve days ago, and I did not fail, on the presentation of your letter, to pay him, on account of his salary, the hundred guineas which you promised him. As for Sig^ra. Pisani, we have not yet heard her; and as the season is much advanced, and the operas will soon commence, we will dispense for this year with another woman from Italy, having already cast the operas for the company which we now have.

I am, nevertheless, very much obliged to you for having thought of Signora Madalena Pieri, in case we should absolutely require another woman to act the part of a man; but we shall content ourselves with five personages, having actually found enough to supply the rest.

"It is to your generous assistance that the Court and the Nobility will partly owe the satisfaction of having now a company to their taste; and it only remains for me to express to you my own sentiments of gratitude, and to assure you of the very respectful attention with which I have the honour to be, &c.

"GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL.

"To Mr. Colman, &c."

nobility had already broke with him, Handel would not have made use of the expression, "the Court and the Nobility will partly owe to you the satisfaction of having now a company to their taste."

Senesino, who had been obtained at the price of fourteen hundred guineas, made his reappearance on the 2nd of February, 1731, in *Porus*, which had fifteen consecutive representations. It has been already stated that this was a great success. The reprint in 1736 is marked "fourth edition." The poem should be highly interesting, judging only from the distribution of the parts:—"Porus, King of India, in love with Cleofida; Cleofida, Queen of another part of India, in love with Porus; Gandartes, Porus's General, in love with Erissena, sister of Porus; Erissena, promised to Gandartes; Alexander, the Macedonian King; Timagenes, Alexander's General and favourite, but secretly his enemy." This was how Porus and Alexander occupied themselves at the Haymarket in 1731. The French opera of the eighteenth century was essentially mythological. Castor and Pollux, Proserpine, Paris and the Apple of Discord, Perseus, Phæton, Psyché, and Hébé, filled all the parts; but the Italian opera, on the other hand, was exclusively royalist. In all the poems, with names ending in *o* or in *a*, belonging to that epoch, we find only kings, queens, princes, and princesses; the most insignificant personages are generals—for how shall there be kings without armies? When, for the sake of variety, a shepherd[1] or a pirate is introduced, it is always some brother of the king or queen, who has

[1] Great Britain in the eighteenth century was quite as much infested as France with shepherds and shepherdesses. Out of these very tribes alone, an army equal to the invasion of Russia might have been levied among those bearing the name of Thyrsis, and the young ladies called Amaryllis were sufficient to people the deserts of Arabia. But the manners of the age were not less barbarous on that account; and the laws, the faithful mirror of society, were still characterized by an unheard of ferocity; as witness this paragraph from the *Daily Courant* of the 10th of June, 1731:—"Joseph Crook, *alias* Sir Peter Stranger, stood in the pillory at Charing Cross for forging a deed, and after he had stood an hour, a chair was brought to the pillory scaffold, in which he was placed, and the hangman with a pruning-knife cut off both his ears, and with a pair of scissors slit both his nostrils, all which he bore with much patience; but when his right nostril was seared with a hot iron, the pain was so violent he could not bear it; whereupon his left nostril was not seared, but he was carried bleeding to a neighbouring tavern. He is sentenced to be imprisoned for life."

been stolen from his cradle, and who recovers his rank at the end of the third act, when he marries a princess who adored him under his shepherd's garb. Sometimes, as in *Ptolemy*, the king and queen themselves have been brought down to the crook, and the three acts are employed in restoring them to their thrones, very much to the disgust of their sheep, who are jealous at seeing themselves slighted in favour of a biped flock.

Ninety-nine times out of a hundred, it is the king of some place, frequently of Cyprus, who loves the princess of some other place, not uncommonly of Thrace, whilst the princess, for her part, is in love either with an emperor or with the captain of the guard; add to these a tyrant or a traitor, or a little old high-priest, who opposes the wishes of the lovers, and you have the entire "drama per la musica" of London. Love must indeed be the most natural, the most profound, the most universal, the most indefatigable, the most inexhaustible, the most unconquerable, and the most insatiable passion to which the human heart is subject, since men are never wearied with the millions of intrigues which have been exhibited upon the stage during the past three thousand years. From Æschylus to M. Scribe, the Indian and Chinese dramatists included, there are probably not fifty dramatic works, be they comedies, tragedies, farces, ballets, or pantomimes, which are not founded upon a happy or an unhappy amour. It would be a curious subject of calculation to reckon up the thirty or forty thousand marriages which thus take place every evening in the different quarters of the globe.

And whilst upon the subject of poems, it may be observed that of all those which Handel composed music to, there are scarcely any in which some one or other of the principal personages does not fall asleep in the presence of the audience; Amadis, Rinaldo, Ptolemy, Admetus, Justin, Orlando; Mirtillo in *Pastor Fido*, Tesco in *Ariadne*, Rossane in *Floridante*, Arsace in *Parthenope*, Grimoaldo in *Rodelinda*, Ginevra in *Ariodante*, and Poppea in *Agrippina*, all take their little nap. This narcotic influence is so strong, that Cleopatra in *Julius Cæsar*, although perfectly awake, pretends to be asleep in order not

to disappoint the audience. This strange malady is even observable in the oratorios. In *Solomon*, the king and queen, after having inaugurated the Temple of Jerusalem, sing a very tender amorous duet, and straightway retire to sleep before the double chorus of priests and people, who, being doubtless great frequenters of the opera, hold this to be very natural, and begin praying to the Greek zephyrs of some centuries subsequent, to prolong their repose—"Ye Zephyrs, soft breathing, their slumbers prolong." Nothing short, indeed, of Handel's music could reconcile the public to such a bad example.

About the same time that *Porus* was produced, *Rodelinda* was revived for the second time, and for the fourth or fifth time the fine score of *Rinaldo*, "revived with many additions by the author," according to the book of 1731. The advertisement in the *Daily Journal* of the 2nd of April bears witness that, as manager of the theatre, he incurred great expense for the *mise-en-scène*:—"*Rinaldo*, with new scenes and cloathes. Great preparations being made to bring this opera on the stage, is the reason that no opera can be performed before Saturday next."

Handel never did things by halves, and he only stopped short where honour compelled him to. A man might ruin himself with such a temperament; but he could accomplish many noble things.

At the commencement of the following season, that is to say, on the 25th of January, 1732, *Ætius* (or *Ezio*), a new opera was sung by Senesino, Montagnana (who was not less celebrated), and Signora Strada, who has left behind her a name in theatrical annals. In spite, however, of such support, and of its great musical merit, *Ætius* was only represented five times. Handel was obliged to give *Sosarme* a month afterwards, on the 15th of February, 1732. It makes one shudder to perceive the insatiable selfishness with which the public, in its rage after novelty, mercilessly exhausts the genius of the composer. *Sosarme* was more fortunate than *Ætius*, but scarcely so much so as it deserved to be.

When Handel was suffering both as an artist and as a manager, a circumstance quite independent of his own free will

brought him a moment's respite. His first English oratorio, *Esther*, was entombed as it were, at Cannons, and he had never dreamt of offering it to the public; but on the 23rd of February, 1731, Bernard Gates, the master of the children at the Chapel Royal of St. James's, having obtained a copy of the score, caused it to be executed by his pupils. John Randall (who died a Doctor and Professor of the University of Cambridge in 1799,) performed the part of *Esther*.[1] The orchestra was composed of amateurs belonging to a society called the Philharmonic Society. Shortly afterwards the Academy of Ancient Music, assisted by Gates, executed it upon a larger scale, but still in a private manner. The vocal part was confided to the chorus of the Chapel Royal, and the instrumental part was performed by the members of the Academy.[2]

These two attempts could not take place without making some noise in the musical world, and their success determined a speculator to have the oratorio publicly performed. It is thus announced in the *Daily Journal* of the 17th of April, 1732:—"Never performed in public. At the great rooms of Villars Street, York Buildings, on Thursday the 20th of this instant April, will be performed, by the best vocal and instrumental music, *Esther*, an oratorio, or sacred drama, as it was originally composed for the most noble James Duke of Chandos, by George Frederick Handel. Each ticket, five shillings."

Handel, whether he had the power to do so or not, made no opposition when others used his music (so to speak) at his very doors; he simply took means to participate in the profits, if there were any. On the 19th of April, when the Villars Street gentry repeated their advertisement in the *Daily Journal*, adding, "the words by Mr. Pope,"[3] and appointing the perform-

[1] Burney.

[2] *An Account of the Academy of Ancient Music*, page 79. This Academy executed other complete oratorios by Handel. In "The Words of such Pieces as are most usually performed by the Academy of Ancient Music," *first edition*, 1761, *second edition*, 1768, may be found, "*Acis*, a Masque; *Alexander's Feast; Israel in Egypt* (in two acts); *L'Allegro*, and *The Messiah*." There is also at the British Museum a book of *Saul*, dated 1740, "printed for the Academy of Music."

[3] Pope never denied the assertion which attributed Gay's poem to him.

ance for the next day, the following advertisement appeared by the side thereof:—

"*By His Majesty's Command.*

"At the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, on Thursday, the 2nd of May, will be performed the sacred story of *Esther;* an oratorio in English, formerly composed by Mr. Handel, and now revised by him, with several additions, and to be performed by a great number of voices and instruments. N.B.—There will be no acting on the stage, but the house will be fitted up in a decent manner for the audience. The music to be disposed after the manner of the Coronation Service. Tickets to be delivered at the same price."

The "By His Majesty's Command" is another proof that George the Second openly supported Handel. He attended the first performance, accompanied by all the royal family. "Last night," says the *Daily Courant,* "their Majesties, the Prince of Wales, and the three eldest Princesses, went to the Opera House in the Haymarket, and *saw* a performance called *Esther,* an oratorio." The journalists of the eighteenth century always discovered some such elegance in expressing what they had to communicate.

The success of the experiment was complete. The little MS. of Colman mentions that in the month of May, 1732, "*Hester,* an English oratorio, was performed six times, and very full." The Villars Street speculators appear to have been unable to contend against such success, for nothing more is to be heard of them after their attempt of the 20th of May.

This oratorio, which was sung in English by the principal members of the Italian company (S^a. Strada, S^a. Bertolli, Montagnana, and Senesino), remained in high favour with the public. I have a book of it, dated 1733, which is inscribed (though perhaps not truthfully) "fourth edition." The author had made considerable additions to the score of 1720.[1]

The year 1732 is, therefore, the date of a great event in the history of music. Hitherto England only knew oratorios by name. It was the first time that the public had heard a work of

[1] See "Catalogue."

that nature, and it showed itself immediately sensible of its excellencies. It was the applause accorded to *Esther* that induced Handel to compose other oratorios; and here, therefore, is the source of these magnificent works, which will bear his glory, and contribute to that of Great Britain, to the end of time.

The *Mysteries*, or *Moralities*, in which dialogue was mingled with psalms and hymns, date as far back as the Middle Ages, and belong to an epoch which cannot be precisely determined. These took a certain regular form about 1540 or 1550. St. Philip of Neri, founder of the Congregation of the Oratorio at Rome, in 1540, wishing to turn to the account of religion that passion for theatrical entertainments which tempted the Italians from the church, and above all during the Carnival, conceived the idea of bringing the theatre *into* the church. He caused sacred dramas to be composed ("drama sacro"), which were accompanied by music *and dances*, and which were played in the chapel belonging to his order. The project was successful; the people hastened to enjoy this gratuitous amusement, and the custom became general in all the cathedrals. The *Sacred Drama* of an entirely religious character, which had replaced the *Mystery*, in which profanity was mingled with religion, remained, for more than half a century, a poem with dialogue spoken and sung. Burney has established, in a much more satisfactory manner than Father Menestrier, the origin of the oratorio, properly called sacred drama, *in which even the dialogue is sung*. He has clearly elucidated the question at page 84 *et seq.* of the fourth volume of his *History of Music*. The first work of this kind, *Anima e Corpo*, is due to Emilio del Cavaliere, and was represented at Rome in February, 1600, in the church of the Oratorians, Santa Maria della Vallicella. Emilio had already attempted compositions with recitatives—that is to say, with dialogue sung—in two pastorals, *Il Satira* and the *Desperazione de Fileno*, privately executed at Florence in 1590.

Some authors derive the word oratorio directly from the Latin *orare*, to pray; but this appears to be an error. The new religious musical dramas preserved their name of *sacred dramas* ("drama sacro") until about the year 1640, when Baldinucci,

who died in 1642, wrote two—*La Fede,* which was founded upon Abraham's sacrifice, and *Il Trionfo,* which was on the coronation of the Virgin, both in two acts. He it was who took the fancy to call these works *Oratorios,* because they bore a strong resemblance to the performances of the Fathers of the Oratory; and this title became gradually substituted for that of *sacred drama,* and has been handed down to these days.

That the oratorios were *represented* on stages, which were erected in the churches and convents, with costumes, decorations, action, and *dancing,* there cannot be the slightest doubt. Emilio del Cavaliere, or his publisher, at the commencement of his printed score, gives the necessary instructions for the scenes, and it is evident that choruses, "à l'antique," accompanied the dances. Catholicism thus lent its countenance to mountebanks—as foolish people are in the habit of calling actors—whilst they sentence to eternal perdition all who show them any favour; which is, after all, but a new title to the regard of honest men. It is perfectly certain that the ecclesiastical thunders which have been fulminated against ballets, are, relatively speaking, of a very recent date. Without citing the example of David, who danced before the ark, I have myself seen in Mexico (during the year 1829) people dancing in all the churches, at certain festivals. Groups of from ten to twelve persons, with a violin or a guitar, made each chapel a choreographic station, while the monks and priests looked on. This was evidently a traditional form of worship, which had been preserved ever since the conquest of Mexico. Father Menestrier says that he has seen in Spain, on Easter Sunday, the priests taking the choristers by the hand, and dancing with them in the choir, whilst they sang hymns of jubilation.

About the end of the seventeenth century, oratorios were in Italy quite as numerous as operas. They were *played* in the churches, as *Esther* and *Athalia* (which may be called *tragic oratorios*) were played at St. Cyr, in France. The sacred did battle with the profane. Gradually these entertainments were only given during Lent and the Holy Week, as a recompense to the public for its abstinence from the theatres, which

the ecclesiastical power was potent enough to close. But in proportion as religion lost its empire, it adopted severer laws in order to maintain an imposing exterior. Oratorios were first banished from the temples; then, the people going always to them as to a theatre, the theatrical action was suppressed, and so, whilst they preserved their dramatic form of personages and division into scenes and acts, they were thenceforth only performed in ordinary costumes; making them, in fact, a kind of religious concert. And that is the form in which they are still executed.

The children of the Chapel Royal of St. James's had, in their innocence, represented *Esther* "with action;" but Handel, fearing the clamour of the zealous, conformed himself to the Italian custom, and gave it "without action." This is all the more curious, because the *Esther* of 1720, played by the children of the Chapel Royal, had scarcely any action in it; whilst the author, in retouching it, seems to have had it for his principal object to bestow upon it a dramatic form and interest. The book, divided "into acts and scenes," with the names of the personages at the head of each scene, gives it, in fact, quite the appearance of a lyric tragedy. But in a country where the Bible is so revered, it could not be suffered that the prophets should be introduced "upon the boards." It is long since enlightened minds began to protest against this short-sightedness in matters of Art. The Rev. John Mainwaring himself (although very far from being of a revolutionary spirit) said, in 1760:[1]—"In times when narrow notions were more in vogue, and when even men of sense were governed rather by appearances than by realities, oratorios would not have been tolerated. In these happier days the influence of prejudice was not, indeed, quite strong enough to exclude these noble performances, yet it is even still strong enough to spoil them; for, are not the very same arguments which prevailed for admitting oratorios, sufficient to justify the acting them? Would not action and gesticulation, accommodated to the situation and sentiments, joined with dresses conformable to the characters represented,

[1] Page 128.

render the representations more expressive and perfect, and consequently the entertainment much more rational and improving. Racine's *Esther* and *Athaliah*, set by Lulli, and performed at the convent of St. Cyr, by order of Madame de Maintenon, had all the advantages of theatrical imitation. Indeed, the best performance, if properly dramatic, without the helps of suitable action and proper dresses, must needs lose a considerable part of that force and clearness, that life and spirit, which result from a full and perfect exhibition. Provided no improper characters were introduced (a thing easy to be obviated), what other inconvenience could possibly result from the further allowance here contended for, it is hard to imagine."

Mainwaring wrote his book precisely one year after Handel's death, and with informations which he procured from Christopher Smith, Handel's secretary. It may be, therefore, that these reflections are the echo of Handel's own opinion upon the subject. The poems of the greater part of his oratorios protest loudly against the restriction imposed, for they are written from quite a theatrical point of view. *Belshazzar*, although its sacred character is incontestible, is arranged entirely like an opera:—"*Scene* 1.—An Apartment in the Palace. *Scene* 2.—The Camp of Cyrus before Babylon; a View of the City Walls, a River running through it. *Scene* 3.—Daniel's House; Daniel with the Prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah open before him. Other Jews. *Scene* 4.—The palace. *Act* II. *Scene* 1.—The Camp of Cyrus without the City; the River almost empty. *Scene* 2.—A Banquet Room adorned with the Images of the Babylonian Gods; Belshazzar, his Wives, Concubines, and Lords, drinking out of the Jewish Temple vessels, and singing the praises of their Gods; as he is speaking, a hand appears writing upon the wall over against him; he sees it, turns pale with fear, drops the bowl of wine, falls back in his seat, trembling from head to foot and his knees knocking against each other," &c., &c.

In *Joseph*, the locality and situation are always described:—"*Scene* 1.—A Prison; Joseph reclining in a melancholy posture.

Scene 2.—A Temple; the High Priest joining the hand of Joseph and Aenath at the altar," &c. So in *Samson:*—"*Scene,* before the prison in Gaza. *Act* I. *Scene* 1.—Samson, blind and in chains; chorus of Priests of Dagon celebrating his festival." In *Deborah:*—"*Part* I. *Scene* 1.—Deborah, Barak, Israelite Officers, and Chorus of Israelite Priests. *Part* II. *Scene* 1.—A grand military symphony; enter Deborah and Barak, with the victorious army of the Israelites." In *Jephtha,* Hamor is described in the cast as "in love with Iphis." No two lovers in comedy say more tender things to each other than Michal and David in *Saul:*—

"*Michal.*—A father's will has authorized my love.
No longer, *Michal,* then attempt to hide
The secret of thy soul. I love thee, *David,*
And long have lov'd. Thy virtue was the cause;
And that be my defence.

"*David.*—O lovely maid! thy form beheld,
Above all beauty charms our eyes;
Yet still within that form conceal'd,
Thy mind, a greater beauty, lies."

In *Joshua,* Caleb promises his daughter Achsah to whoever shall take the city of Debir. "The city is thine," cries Othniel:—

"Place danger around me
The storm I'll despise;
What arms shall confound me,
When Achsah's the prize?"

Is not this but the echo of the Cid, going to fight with Don Sanche for Chimène?—

"Paraissez Navarrois, Maures et Castillans,
Et tout ce que L'Espagne a nourri de vaillants;
Unissez-vous ensemble et faites un armée
Pour combattre une main de la sorte animée."

In spite, however, of their loving words, their dramatic instructions, and their directions for the *mise-en-scène,* these oratorios were never played, and as *sacred dramas* they were never intended to be; but the force of circumstances carried away both the author and the composer.

Now that the artists appear in evening dress, the same singer has often, for economical reasons, several parts to support. This was already the case in Handel's time. Thus, according to the book of *Susannah*, Reinhold sang two parts which were diametrically opposed to each other—that of the virtuous Chelsias, and one of the elders, and, perhaps, also the judge, to whom no name is given. On the MS. of *Samson*, on the other hand, the names of Mrs. Clive and of Signora Avoglio are attached to the part of the woman. This is one of the vices of these representations, in which the artists are seated; for it is impossible to recognize the personages, and one is apt to become confused in seeing several parts filled by one man, or a single part divided between two women, and thus one loses most of the dramatic intentions of the composer, and it is no longer an oratorio that one hears, but a concert. This system is unfavourable to Handel more than to any other composer, because he, more than any other—Mozart alone excepted—has given musically to each part its proper character.

An oratorio is intended to represent, musically, a certain episode in the Scriptures, and why not, therefore, represent it in reality? Strange contradiction! Devotees permit every dauber to paint the countenance of Christ, to dress him and to exhibit him in the most solemn actions of his life; they do not object when he gives him a face after his own whim, or when he makes him act (as it were) upon the canvas; but when it becomes a question of making Deborah and Samson act in the flesh and blood, they cover their faces with their hands in pious horror. Is it because the artists who would play in an oratorio are not of the number of the elect? But these are the very artists who actually sing the oratorios. In good truth there seems to be no sufficient reason for such contradictions; it is as if the want of sincerity in religious matters would pass itself off for being truly religious by taking from the oratorio its form, its light and shade—in a word, its physical life. In the times of *the Mysteries*, when there were real and sincere believers, such scruples were unheard of.

Mr. Rophino Lacy, from his admiration of Handel, once

conceived the design of restoring to his oratorios all their dramatic force, by representing them with costumes. As a means of feeling his way, he brought out at Covent Garden Theatre, in the month of February, 1833, the *Israelites in Egypt*, grounded on the *Mosè* of Rossini, into which he introduced choruses from *Israel in Egypt*, with their sacred text. For my part, I do not approve of such mixtures; but *selections* were agreeable to the public taste at that time. In my opinion, oratorios ought not to be transformed into regular dramas, because, in that case, it becomes necessary to introduce into them foreign elements. These great works must be left as they are, forming, as they do, a new style, a thing apart, which is neither a concert nor a serious opera. In fact, they should be given in all their austerity, only with costumes, scenery, and action; thus avoiding the mistake of making them theatrical pieces, whilst giving them all the advantages of the stage. This bold attempt of Mr. Lacy obtained an immense success. The public went to Covent Garden without being in any way troubled in conscience. The Queen (then the Princess Victoria) and her mother, the Duchess of Kent, went there also, in the full persuasion that they were not committing any sin. Mr. Lacy then prepared "*Jephtha*, by Handel, interspersed with various admired compositions from other celebrated oratorios by the same author." Everything was prepared, the posters announced the first representation for the 19th of February, 1834 (the first Wednesday in Lent), when a letter, emanating from young Lord Belfast, who had succeeded the Duke of Devonshire as Lord Chamberlain, caused the performance to be prohibited. The Bishop of London, Dr. Charles James Blomfield, had inoculated Queen Adelaide with his pious scruples, and the Lord Chamberlain obeyed their orders. England wished for oratorios in action—she had proved it in the preceding year; but Queen Adelaide and the Bishop of London opposed, and the thing became impossible. At that time religious concerts were given during Lent, and a letter inserted in the *Dispatch*, and addressed to the Bishop of London, exposed the absurdity of his scruples:—"You object to *sacred* music *per se*; but if mixed up with a certain quantity

of the *profane*, you are perfectly satisfied. Acid and alkali are dangerous when taken *separately*, but when *mixed* a delicious beverage for *souls* is the result! Is this idiocy, or is it madness? Is it the perfection of cant, or the *ne plus ultra* of stolidity? The juxtaposition of the various pieces of music has frequently amused me, and I willingly give you part of a programme which reads thus:—'Angels, ever bright and fair;' 'Meet me by moonlight alone;' 'Let the bright seraphim;' 'March to the battle-field;' 'And God said;' 'Whistle, and I'll come to thee, my lad.'"

All the journals complained in much the same tone:—"If it was good to sing sacred songs, the effect on the mind must be greatly increased when the subjects they describe are embodied and represented to the eye; besides which, these acts are before us in a regular and well-connected series, and not subject, as formerly, to be rendered almost ridiculous by being preceded and followed by songs of an entirely opposite character—as, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' followed by 'I'd be a butterfly.'"

According to another journal of the same period—"It was a novel and bold venture to dramatize a portion of the Old Testament upon the London boards, and much has been, and more will be, said against it. But we cannot perceive any reasonable objection; for, if we have tolerated the singing of the spiritual words of *Israel in Egypt*, surely we cannot object to the heightening their effect by the introduction of scenery, costume, and action. If objectionable it be, the chorus of 'He gave them hailstones,' is as objectionable when sung by men and women in modern costume, standing with music-paper in their hands on a stage fitted up with music-desks, as when sung with action by some individuals habited as ancient Egyptians, before a scene representing the encampment of the Medianites without the walls of Memphis. If a singer may not dress and act as *Moses*, why has he ever been allowed to sing as *Moses?*"

Opinions so just as these, necessarily became popular; but the oratorios in action were none the less suppressed, being attainted and convicted of having wounded the religious spirit of the

people. It is true that, as some compensation, the guardians of the public morals permitted the *Beggar's Opera* to be played *with costumes*.

But whilst we await the time when sincerity and good sense shall prevail, oratorios are executed precisely like concerts; the singers sit upon a platform before the orchestra, rising every time they have a piece to sing. This was doubtless so in the beginning. Colman, in his laconic notes, says:—"*Hester*, an opera, singers *in a sort of gallery, no acting*." The immense orchestras are spread out behind the solo-singers upon an amphitheatre, flanked by the choruses to left and right; and the organ at the extreme back dominates over all. Formerly, the composer directed at the organ, and in order that he might have the orchestra in view, a key-board was constructed in front which communicated with the instrument by chains some twelve or fifteen feet long. It may be observed, in parenthesis, that no engraving seems to exist which represents the orchestra of an oratorio in Handel's time. At the present day, the conductor turns his back to the audience, and not the profile, as at Paris. It is the same at the two Philharmonic Societies. And this is a new proof of the serious love which the English entertain for music. In this country, where the public is always treated with a respect almost equal to that which is paid to the Queen, this arrangement arouses no complaint. It is understood that the conductor cannot well dispense with having a good view of all who are under his command, and that all must be able to see him. In this, the English musical public does not resemble the late Sultan, the reformer Mahmoud, who would never enter a European carriage for fear of seeing the coachman's back.

This cold, colourless, and inanimate manner of producing works which, after all, are really dramas, takes from them much of their effective strength. The audience have only their ears to assist their judgment; for they are deprived of the assistance of their eyes in arriving at a better understanding of the situation. In a visual sense they are like a blind man at the opera. Art loses much by this, but religion gains nothing. People go to oratorios only for pleasure, precisely as they go to concerts;

and the singers in the orchestra are, after all, dressed up in ball costume. One needs only to see the ladies with their heads covered with flowers, and their dresses falling below the shoulders, to be sure that their ideas are not always of the most sacred character.

Acis and Galatea, which, as well as *Esther,* was composed for the Duke of Chandos, did not remain forgotten for quite so long a period. In the *Daily Journal* of the 13th of March, 1731, the following advertisement appeared:—

"For the Benefit of M. *Rochetti,* at Lincoln's Inn Theatre Royal, on Friday, 26th, will be represented a pastoral called *Acis and Galatea,* composed by Mr. Handel. *Acis,* Mr. Rochetti; *Galatea,* Mrs. Wright; *Polypheme,* Mr. Leveridge; *Damon,* Mr. Salway; *Coridon,* Mr. Legar; and the other parts by Mrs. Carter and Mrs. Papillon." In the advertisement of the 26th of March, is added—"Mr. Rochetti will sing the song, 'Son Confusa Pastorella,' being the favourite hornpipe in the opera of *Porus.*"!!

In 1731, therefore, Handel's English serenata had been performed, and even with additions; for Damon, Corydon, and "the other parts by Mrs. Carter and Mrs. Papillon," are not in the MS. of 1721. It would be interesting to know of what the *Acis* of 1731 was composed. It is difficult to believe that the author had nothing to do with it; nevertheless he had not thought of deriving any personal benefit from the work, when a provocation, similar to that which was offered in the case of *Esther,* came to recall it to his mind. The *Daily Post* of Tuesday, the 2nd of May, 1732 (the very day of the production of *Esther* at the King's Theatre), contained this paragraph:—"We hear that the proprietors of the English Opera will very shortly perform a celebrated pastoral opera called *Acis and Galatea,* composed by Mr. Handel, with all the grand choruses and other decorations, as it was performed before his Grace the Duke of Chandos, at Cannons.. It is now in rehearsal." On the 6th, came a fresh advertisement:—"At the new theatre in the Haymarket, on Thursday next, 11th May, will be performed in English, a pastoral opera, called *Acis and Galatea,* with all the

choruses, scenes, machines, and other decorations, &c. (as before), being the first time it ever was performed in a theatrical way. The part of Acis by Mr. Moutier, being the first time of his appearing in character on any stage; Galatea, Miss Arne.[1] Pit and boxes at 5*s*." We afterwards find that *Acis* is put off to the 17th, "it being impossible to get ready the decorations, scenes, and machines, before that time."

The performance took place on the 17th of May. Burney informs us that this enterprise, which was so well managed as to provoke curiosity, was conducted by an upholsterer named Arne, the father of Dr. Arne.

To produce the work of a man without his participation, and at the very side of the theatre which he directed, would seem in these days to be going a little too far; but the manners of the time permitted it. More than half a century afterwards, Piccini died of distress, at the very time when his operas were being sung at ten or twelve of the cities of Italy.

But Handel did not allow the idea which was thus suggested to him to escape. On the 5th of June, the *Daily Journal* announced:—

"In the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, the present Saturday, being the 10th of June, will be performed a serenata called *Acis and Galatea*, formerly composed by Mr. Handel, and now revised by him, with several additions, and to be performed by a great number of the best voices and instruments. There will be no action on the stage, but the scene will represent, in a picturesque manner, a rural prospect with rocks, groves, fountains, and grottoes, amongst which will be disposed a chorus of nymphs and shepherds; the habits, and every other decoration, suited to the subject. Also on 13th, 17th, 20th. The libretto, printed for J. Watts, in three acts."

It seems singular enough to put the singers into costume,

[1] Miss Arne, afterwards Mrs. Cibber, enjoyed, under the latter name, a great reputation as a singer. Her husband was Theophilus Cibber, the brother of Colley Cibber, Poet Laureate in the reign of George II. They separated after a very scandalous suit for adultery, in which one shilling damages was awarded to the husband. Those who place the honour of a man upon the virtue of a woman, may inquire whether this was the price of Mrs. Theophilus's virtue or of her husband's honour.

"*Qu 'allait-il faire dans cette galère?*"—*Les Fourberies de Scapin*.

and then to leave them seated, "with no action," on their rocks. The grottoes, the groves, and the fountains do not certainly render the matter much clearer; yet they are infinitely preferable to the evening costumes which comfound the personages with each other. But this masterpiece of grace and freshness could be performed in any fashion.

Arne, the father, gave the English serenata precisely as it had been executed at Cannons; but Handel, in order to attract the public to his own theatre, added to the score many of the airs of his Neapolitan serenata, as well as three choruses, two in Italian and one in English. The pastoral was sung, therefore, partly in English and partly in Italian. The book used at the time leaves no doubt upon this point.[1] A third issue of the *Acis* of 1721 (engraved by Walsh) contains an Italian air—"Dell' aquila gli artigli," designated, "An additional Song, sung by Signor Senesino." Sg^a. Strada sustained the part of Galatea, and Montagnana that of Polyphemus. The English airs attributed to the two parts which were added (those of Clori and Eurilla) were confided to Miss Robinson and Mrs. Davis.

This macaronic *Acis* was performed four times before the end of June, which terminated the season of 1731-2, and four times only during the following season, which commenced in December, 1732."[2] The public of those days must have been very greedy of novelty, however monstrous, when such a delicate masterpiece as *Acis* was executed only four times during an entire season. Handel afterwards returned to the simplicity of his English version of *Acis*, which he gave, divided into two acts, in 1739, with Dryden's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*. It was then only that he added, as a termination to the first act, the delicious chorus, "Happy, happy, happy we."

This serenata is still occasionally sung with action and costumes; but, abandoned to the English opera, it was execrably mounted when I saw it in 1855. Ten years ago, Mr. Macready, then the manager of Drury-lane Theatre, put it upon the stage with great luxury of decoration, and it had a very long run.

[1] See "Catalogue."

[2] On the 10th, 13th, 17th, and 20th of June, and the 5th, 9th, 12th, and 16th of December.—*Daily Journal.*

Apropos of *Acis*, the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1732, contains a very curious note, taken from the *Daily Courant* of the 9th of June, 1732, to the following effect:—"Whereas Signor Bononcini intends, after the serenata composed by Mr. Handel hath been performed, to have one of his own, and hath desired Signora Strada to sing in that entertainment: Aurelio del Po, husband of the said Signora Strada, thinks it incumbent upon him to acquaint the nobility and gentry, that he shall think himself happy in contributing to their satisfaction; but, with respect to this request, hopes he shall be permitted to decline complying it, for reasons best known to the said Aurelio del Po and his wife."[1]

The style of this note is not less extraordinary than the matter. Here is a husband speaking of his wife as if she were a

[1] The political gossips of the time had a mania for seeing politics in everything, and discovered, in the simplest things, the deepest and most recondite allusions. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1732, borrows from *The Craftsman* of the 12th of August, the following satire, in the form of a letter, which is quoted "as one instance to what absurdity pedantry of politicks can lead even sober and experienced persons in private life:"—"Sir, being informed that some musick of Bononcini was to be performed at the Opera-house, I went to see it; but, being disappointed, retired to a friend's house, where happened to be a mixed company, whose conversation turned upon the subject. One of the company took out of his pocket a *Courant* of June 9, and read the letter of Aurelio del Po. A fat, elderly gentleman started up with some emotion. 'How is this, sir?' says he. 'Pray read it once more.' The other did so, and while he was reading it, the fat gentleman at every word would cry, '*Observe, ay, pray observe, gentlemen!* Good God! when shall I see this poor country free from practices? What dignity, what authority discovers itself in every line? Does this sound like the style of a poor Italian, who lets out his wife to sing for hire? I suppose you would make me believe this is Strada's husband, and no libel, I warrant you; no attempt against the government!' 'Ay, to be sure,' replyed an old lady, 'everybody knows whose name begins with a P, and that it is pronounced in the beginning like those two letters P O.' The fat gentleman seemed to frown at this. 'Madam,' said he, 'Mr. P. must, no doubt, have some concern in this affair, because it is a vile thing, and against the government; but I will undertake to prove that nobody could pen this advertisement but the Pretender himself. Why, did you never hear of Marcus Aurelius, the famous statue on horseback? And what is a man on horseback but a *chevalier?* Now we all know who the *chevalier* is, and——' 'Ay, 'tis plain,' cryed a sober fellow, who sat musing in a corner, ''tis very plain. Aurelio stands for the Pretender, Po for the Pope, and Del for the Devil. Who could assume such dignity and majesty, but one who calls himself a monarch? "For reasons best known to the said Aurelio del Po and his wife!" Is not this the style of a king and his ministers? and would an Italian singing woman's husband presume to offer terms in this manner to the nobility and gentry of Great Britain? No, no, it must be the *Pretender* who hath endeavoured to impose upon the nation under this disguise, and to open a correspondence with the *Royal* Academy of Musick.'"

horse, or an object of which he could dispose at his pleasure, saying that he shall be happy to contribute to the pleasure of the public by allowing her to sing, but that he has motives for not doing so. This is indeed a curious instance of the brutality of marital relations in those times.

But with or without the assistance of Madame del Po, the opera of the gloomy Italian was sung on the 24th of June, 1732. The *Daily Journal* announces:—"At the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, on Saturday, the 24th of June, will be performed a Pastoral Entertainment, composed by Signor Bononcini." It appears, therefore, that Handel gave, at the theatre of which he was chief director, the work of a man who was set up for his rival. This was either an extreme of courtesy, or an extreme of pride.

Alchymist Music, which also appeared in 1732, is not an original composition. Mr. Lacy has recognized in it the overture of *Roderigo*, the movements of which have been detached from each other to be used as dance music. This not very laborious transmutation was effected for a revival of the *Alchymist*, to which dances were added.[1] Ben Jonson's old comedy was revived again at Drury Lane in 1739. The *London Daily Post* of the 4th of April, 1739, announces:—"Drury Lane. For the fourth time this season, a comedy called the *Alchymist*, by Ben Jonson, and select pieces of Musick, with entertainments of singing and dancing; particularly: *End of Act 1st*, a Ballad, Mrs. Clive. *End of Act 2nd*, a Punch Dance. *Act 3rd*, a Song; a Grand Ballet, by Mons. Denoyer, &c. *Act 4th*, The Pierots. *Act 5th*, an Ethiopian Dance, a Turkish Dance, &c." Here are, certainly, gambols enough to suit every taste.

There is still preserved, at Dulwich College, a manuscript journal by Ben Jonson—the contents of which are not much to the credit either of his sobriety or his modesty—in which he records that he wrote his *Alchymist* after having swallowed forty pounds' worth of wine!—"Memorandum. Upon the 20th of May, the King (Heaven reward him!) sent me £100. At that time I often went to the Devil Tavern, and before I had spent £40 of it, wrote my *Alchymist*." In another place he writes:—

[1] *Daily Post*, 7th March, 1732.

"I laid the plot of my *Volpone* and wrote most of it after a present of ten dozen of palm-sack from my very good Lord T—. That, I am positive, will live to posterity, and be acted, when I and envy be friends, with applause . . . *Mem.* The first speech in my *Catalina* spoken by Sylla's ghost, was writ after I had parted with my friend at the Devil Tavern; I had drunk well that night and had brave notions. There is one scene in that play which I think is flat; I resolve to drink no more water with my wine."[1] These notes of a drunkard inspire all the more pity, when we see that he only drunk wine that was given him. Every such present must have been an additional chain upon his liberty.

But to return. It was also in the year 1732, and not in 1724,[2] that the *Twelve Sonatas, or Solos for a Violin or a German Flute,* were published. They were written, it is said, for the Prince of Wales, who was reckoned a very good musician. They have the title of "Opera 1ª," as if the *Suites de Pièces* were not reckoned among the works of instrumental music. In the seventh of these *Sonatas* may be recognized the movement in the duet of *Alexander,* "Placa l'alma;" out of the eleventh, Handel made the fifth of the *Six Organ Concertos,* Book I., which appeared in October, 1738. Thus it was that he copied and recopied himself more than once in his instrumental music. The overture of *St. Cecilia's Day* (of September, 1739) has formed, with the addition of two movements, the fifth of the *Grand Concertos,* dated October, 1739; and the fifth of the *Organ Concertos,* Book II., published on the 14th of January, 1741, is taken entire out of this fifth *Grand Concerto.* The fourth of the celebrated *Hautbois Concertos* is the second overture written for *Amadigi,* in 1716. The sixth is made out of a symphony in *Ottone.* The first of the seven *Sonatas Trios* (of 1739) is nothing but the overture to the first of the *Chandos Anthems,* "I will magnify." Other similar examples might be quoted. Handel evidently attached only a secondary importance to his instrumental music; for if this style of composition had possessed in his eyes the great and legitimate value which it has since acquired, this man, whose fecundity was as inexhaustible as his

[1] Weld's *History of the Royal Society.* [2] See "Catalogue."

powers were indefatigable, would not have remodelled a little overture three times over between 1739 and 1741. He left room for Boccherini, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.

At the same epoch with the twelve *Sonatas Solos*, Opera 1ª (1732), there also appeared the six first *Sonatas Trios* under the French title, *Sonates à 2 violons, 2 hautbois ou deux flutes traversières et basse continu. Second ouvrage* (Opera 2ª). Another book of *Seven Sonatas Trios*, Opera 5ª, was published in 1739. Hawkins and his copyists often say that such and such a thing is taken from Opera 5ª; but, according to Mr. Lacy, they are deceived in the date, and the truth is, that the subjects are generally borrowed from some former work of the author—the *Chandos Anthems*, *Athalia*, the first *Organ Concertos*, the dance music of *Ariodante* and *Alcina*, which are all anterior to 1739. Handel probably made this compilation to get rid of Walsh, who may have asked him for a sequel to the *Sonatas Trios* of 1732; for publishers are always wishing for sequels and pendants to every work that brings in a large profit.

The appearance of the beautiful and charming melodies of *Esther* and *Acis*, set to English words, was a twofold pleasure for those whose musical patriotism was dreaming of a great English opera, and who were irritated because all good music required a passport in the Italian language. There is, in the works of Aaron Hill, a letter which proves the existence of this spirit in some minds:—

"To Mr. Handel.

"December 5, 1732.

"Sir,—I ought sooner to have returned you my hearty thanks for the silver ticket, which has carried the obligation farther than to myself; for my daughters are both such lovers of musick, that it is hard to say which of them is most capable of being charmed by the compositions of Mr. Handel.

"Having this occasion of troubling you with a letter, I cannot forbear to tell you the earnestness of my wishes, that, as you have made such considerable steps towards it already, you would let us owe to your inimitable genius the establishment of musick

upon a foundation of good poetry; where the excellence of the sound should be no longer dishonoured by the poorness of the sense it is chained to.

"My meaning is, that you would be resolute enough to deliver us from our Italian bondage, and demonstrate that English is soft enough for opera, when composed by poets who know how to distinguish the sweetness of our tongue from the strength of it, where the last is less necessary.

"I am of opinion that male and female voices may be found in this kingdom capable of everything that is requisite; and, I am sure, a species of dramatic opera might be invented, that, by reconciling reason and dignity with musick and fine machinery, would charm the ear, and hold fast the heart, together.

"I am so much a stranger to the nature of your present engagements, that if what I have said should not happen to be so practicable as I conceive it, you will have the goodness to impute it to the zeal with which I wish you at the head of a design as solid and imperishable as your musick and memory.—I am, Sir, your most obliged and most obedient servant,

"A. Hill."

Handel was very well disposed to prove that the language of the Britannic Isles (although the French call it the language of birds) is, perhaps, as good a one as any other for singing birds; but still he was by no means prepared to renounce the Italian. Whilst he was producing the first English serenata, and the first English oratorio, he wrote *Orlando*. The MS. is inscribed —"fine dell atto 2°, Novembr. 10, 1732"—"fine del opera, November 20." The first representation, which was announced for the 23rd of January, 1733, was put off to the 27th, "the principal performers being indisposed," says the *Daily Post*. This delay should be noted, because, in the same journal of the 6th of February, we find, "To-day is published, *Orlando;*" and, on the 13th, "This day is published, the whole opera of *Orlando;* John Walsh, price 11*s*. 6*d*." Here we have a score rehearsed, played, printed, and offered for sale, on the 13th of February, 1733, although its second act was not finished on the 9th of the

preceding November! And this activity of the composer-manager, his artists, and his publisher, will appear all the more extraordinary, when it is known that this opera was mounted with great splendour. The laconic little MS. of Colman says—"*Orlando;* extraordinarily fine and magnificent." The edition (which is one of Walsh's best) has ninety pages. It is true that it is only "a complete edition" after Walsh's fashion—that is to say, without recitatives; but to engrave, print, and bind ninety pages of music in seventeen days, must have required great resources of execution. Walsh has left more than one proof of the extent of his establishment, and of the celerity with which work could be performed. According to the *General Advertiser,* he published, on the 8th of March, 1749, *Susannah,* which had been produced on the preceding 10th of February. He had, therefore, less than a month to engrave an edition which has ninety-four pages.

The noisy air in *Orlando,* "Sorge infausta," has *violette* in the bass of its accompaniment; whilst the gentle air, "Già l'ebro mio ciglio," is accompanied by "2 *violette marine* con violoncelli pizzicati." Judging by its name, the violetta was the diminutive of the viola;—viola, violetta, large and small tenor.[1] It was an already ancient instrument at that time; and may be found in the edition of *Rinaldo* of 1711; and again in

[1] This family of instruments seems to me to be thus graduated:—the *viola,* or viol, which was the generic type; the *violone,* or very big viol, afterwards called the contra-basso, or double-bass. *On* or *one* final in Italian expresses, as in Spanish, an idea of augmentation, just as *ello* or *etto* does an idea of diminution. *Violoncello* is literally the little big viol; in other words, the diminutive of the big viol, or double-bass. Finally, the *violino,* or violin, is a new diminutive of *violoncello.* The grandmother of the family, the *viola,* or viol, afterwards took an intermediate place in the harmonic scale;—

Double-bass.
Violoncello.
Viola.
Violin.*

I am disposed to believe that the violin, which is the smallest and the most perfect of the family, is the last comer; for the human mind always commences by pushing its discoveries to exaggeration, and afterwards, when it knows more, by simplifying. After the invention of gunpowder, monster cannons were made (like that which is exhibited at Ghent as a curiosity), and men arrived at the handy and fatal rifle after these gigantic tubes, which could do no great harm on account of the difficulty of managing them.

* I give this genealogy without positively affirming its exactness.

Parthenope. As for the *violetta marina*, it was an invention altogether recent. In the advertisement of a concert, in the *Daily Journal* of Monday, the 27th of March, 1732, it is stated that "Signor Castrucci will play a concerto of his own, on a beautiful new instrument called the *viola marina*." What was this novelty? The musical dictionaries of Grassineau, 1740; of J. J. Rousseau, 1768; of Hoyle, 1791; of Danneley (N. D.), of Lichtenhall, 1839; and of Hamilton and Tinctor, edited by J. Bishop, in 1849—although they all assume to be "complete"—do not even mention the name of the *violetta marina*, or even of the simple *violetta*. The industrious and learned Hawkins himself says nothing about it, and one might indeed suppose it to be so small that no author has been able to perceive it. Burney can give nothing better than the following note, which amounts to nothing:—"The *violetta marina* seems to have been a kind of *viol d'amour* with sympathetic strings."[1] Busby, in his *Dictionary of Music*, although as silent as the others about the *violetta* simple, has only employed Burney's note, suppressing the *sympathetic strings*, which he doubtless understood as little as I do. "A stringed instrument (says he), supposed to have been similar in shape and tone to the *viol d'amour*. It was first introduced into England by Signor Castrucci, in the year 1732."

The *viol d'amour* is known to be a broad viola, with six metallic strings, rather loosely strung; but the only page of music which is known written for the *violetta marina*, that of the air in *Orlando*, "Già l'ebro," is written for a four-stringed instrument. Burney's definition appears, therefore, to be open to dispute; but I can give no better. All that is known is, that the violetta marina was different from the simple violetta, not only on account of the adjective *marina* which distinguished it, but also because it must have been much more delicate, since Handel sustained it only by "violoncelli pizzicati."

It remains also to discover what was the meaning of the adjective *marina*. The name of *tromba marina*, or marine trumpet, was given to a triangular and single-stringed instru-

[1] Page 366.

ment, played with a bow, whose existence is lost in the night of Time. Mersennus says that it was so called, "either because it was invented by seamen, or because they make use of it instead of the trumpet." This explanation is as unsatisfactory as the name is peculiar; but, nevertheless, there may have been some connection between the old *tromba marina* and the *violetta marina*, sufficient at least to give them the same designation. Handel, who was fond of everything that could in any way add to the resources of the orchestra, employed the violetta marina in *Orlando* as soon as it was known to him; but he returned to the simple violetta when he wrote *Deborah*, a few months afterwards. In the accompaniment to the chorus of the "Priests of Baal," may be found, "Violini tutti e *violette* all' ottava con i bassi."

Castrucci, who introduced the violetta marina into England (where he arrived in 1715), was a very enthusiastic violinist, from whom Hogarth derived his caricature of "The Enraged Musician." The *Daily Post* of the 22nd of February, 1732, announces a concert for his benefit, and "particularly a solo, in which he engages hymself to execute twenty-four notes with one bow." On the following day, the little theatre in Goodman's Fields advertised a solo "by a fiddler, who will play twenty-five notes with one bow." These dexterous tricks by artists are somewhat antiquated, and they have always been held up to ridicule; nevertheless, we constantly find forgotten ones turning up in the disguise of extraordinary novelties. Moreover, the bows of the eighteenth century were, it is true, much shorter than those of the present day; but they must have been exceedingly small, if twenty-four notes with a single stroke was a marvel. The merest tyro in the present day could make one hundred and fifty.

Castrucci was first of all attached to the Royal Academy of Music as leader, and he remained many years in that place with Handel. When he became too old for his post, he was unwilling to quit it. Handel, who wished to promote John Clegg, the second violin and a pupil of Dubourg, wrote a concerto in which the part of the second violin was so contrived that it required

much more execution than that of the first, and Clegg proved himself to be so superior, that Castrucci was compelled to cede to him both the palm and his place. Hawkins says that the poor Italian, "oppressed with years, immediately sank into oblivion." He died in 1752, at the age of eighty-four.

This took place in 1733, in which year there was a great deal of singing in London. By the side of *Orlando*, at the King's Theatre, they gave, on the 10th of February, 1733, at the "new theatre in the Haymarket, a new opera called *Dione*, by Lampe;" at Covent Garden, on the same day, "a new opera called *Achilles*, by the late Mr. Gay," without any composer's name given; and on the 17th of March, at Lincoln's Inn Fields, "*Rosamond*, written by the late Mr. Addison, now set to music after the Italian manner, by Mr. Arne, junior" (afterwards Dr. Arne). If we add to this, Drury Lane and Goodman's Fields, it appears that the Londoners of 1733 possessed six theatres, out of which four were consecrated to music.

CHAPTER V.

1733.

"Deborah"—Violent Letter against Handel by the Librettist Rolli—Handel's Orchestration and Choruses—His Employment of the Drum—All his Cotemporaries Reproach him with Exaggeration of the Harmonic Forces—Quarrel with Senesino—Cabal of the Nobility against Handel—A Rival Theatre Organized—Predilection of the Eighteenth Century for High Voices—Bononcini and the Madrigal of Lotti.

The success obtained by *Esther* naturally encouraged the author to try once more the effect of that style of composition. During the earlier performances of *Orlando,* he wrote *Deborah,* which was finished on the 24th of February, 1733. It was on the 17th of March that this second English oratorio succeeded *Floridante,* which had been revived from the 3rd to the 13th. The *Daily Journal* of the 17th of March announces :—"By His Majesty's command. *Deborah,* an oratorio or sacred drama, in English, composed by Mr. Handel. The house to be fitted up and illuminated in a new and particular manner; and to be performed by a great number of the best voices and instruments. Tickets, to be delivered at the office of the Opera-house on Friday and Saturday, 16th and 17th inst., one guinea each; gallery, half a guinea. N.B.—This is the last dramatick performance that will be exhibited at the King's Theatre till after Easter."

The price of seats varied according to the wish of the managers. The enormous price of one guinea, demanded on account of the new oratorio, was the signal for general discontent. The annual subscribers were moreover greatly shocked, and not without reason, at being forced to pay extra for their places because a sacred English drama was given in the place of a profane Italian one, even supposing "the house to be fitted up

and illuminated in a new and particular manner." It would appear that this unjust augmentation had been resolved upon a long time in advance by Handel and his partner Heidegger. The enemies of the former did not delay to make use of the arms which he placed in their hands. The following letter, by the librettist Paolo Rolli, addressed to Mr. Danvers, the editor of the *Craftsman*, is tart, virulent, and full of rage. It is curious to see how the animosities behind the scenes made common cause with those before. I extract this letter from the *London Magazine* for April 1733, which gives it *in extenso*. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for April gives only an abridgment:—

"A New Opera Scheme.

"One who signs himself Paolo Rolli, in a letter to Mr. Danvers, editor of the *Craftsman*, says:—As I know your zeal for liberty, I thought I could not address better than to you the following exact account of the noble stand, lately made by the polite part of the world in defence of their liberties and properties, against the open attack and bold attempts of Mr. H——l upon both. I shall singly here relate the fact, and leave you, who are better able than I am, to make what inferences or applications may be proper. The rise and progress of Mr. H——l's power and fortune are too well known for me now to relate. Let it suffice to say, that he was grown so insolent upon the sudden and undeserved increase of both, that he thought nothing ought to oppose his imperious and extravagant will. He had for some time governed the operas, and modelled the orchestra, without the least control. No voices, no instruments, were admitted but such as flattered his ears, though they shocked those of the audience. Wretched scrapers were put above the best hands in the orchestra; no music but his own was to be allowed, though everybody was weary of it; and he had the impudence to assert that there was no composer in England but himself. Even kings and queens were to be content with whatever low characters he was pleased to assign them, as is evident in the case of Signor Montagnana, who, though a king,[1]

[1] In the theatrical polemics of that epoch, it often appears that the names of king and queen were applied to the principal singers at the opera.

is always obliged to act (except an angry, rumbling song or two) the most insignificant part of the whole drama.[1] This excess and abuse of power soon disgusted the town: his government grew odious, and his operas empty. However, this, instead of humbling him, only made him more furious and desperate. He resolved to make one last effort to establish his power and fortune by force, since he found it now impossible to hope it from the goodwill of mankind. In order to do this, he formed a plan without consulting any of his friends (if he has any), and declared that at a proper season he would communicate it to the public; assuring us, the very same time, that it would be very much for the advantage of the publick in general, and of operas in particular. Some people suspect that he had settled it previously with the Signora Strada del Po, who is much in his favour; but all that I can advance with certainty is, that he had concerted it with a brother of his own,[2] in whom he places a most undeserved confidence. In this brother of his, heat and dullness are miraculously united—the former prompts him to anything new and violent, while the latter hinders him from seeing any of the inconveniences of it. As Mr. H——l's brother, he thought it was necessary he should be a musician too; but all he could arrive at, after a very laborious application for many years, was a moderate performance upon the Jew's-trump. He had, for some time, played a parte buffa abroad, and had entangled his brother in several troublesome and dangerous engagements in the commission he had given him to contract with foreign performers, and from which (by the way) Mr. H——l did not disengage himself with much honour. Notwithstanding all these and many more objections, Mr. H——l, by and with the advice of his brother, at last produces his project, resolves to

[1] Montagnana was a basso. It has been already stated that, in the eighteenth century, the public had very little taste for that kind of voice.

[2] Handel never had a brother; but here reference is, doubtless, intended to be made to Smith the elder, who was as devoted to him as a brother; as Smith the younger became attached to him like a son. Hawkins makes mention (at p. 877) of a journey which Handel took into Italy "with old Mr. Smith." It may be also that Heidegger, Handel's partner, is referred to; "a brother manager" is a common expression. The phrase is observable; it does not say "with his brother," but "with a brother of his own," as if a brother of his choice were intended. Nevertheless, I am not aware that Smith or Heidegger were ever accused of any talent upon the Jew's-harp.

cram it down the throats of the town; prostitutes great and awful names as the patrons of it; and even does not scruple to insinuate that they are to be sharers of the profit. His scheme set forth in substance that the decay of operas was owing to their cheapness, and to the great frauds committed by the doorkeepers; that the annual subscribers were a parcel of rogues, and made an ill-use of their tickets by often running two into the gallery; that to obviate these abuses, he had contrived a thing that was better than an opera, called an oratorio; to which none should be admitted but by printed permits, or tickets, of one guinea each, which should be distributed out of warehouses of his own, and by officers of his own naming—which officers could not reasonably be supposed to cheat in the collection of half guineas;[1] and lastly, that as the being of operas depended upon him singly, it was just that the profit arising from hence should be for his own benefit. He added indeed one condition, to varnish the whole a little; which was, that if any person should think himself aggrieved, he should be at liberty to appeal to three judges of musick, who should be obliged, within the space of seven years at farthest, finally to determine the same, provided the said judges should be of his nomination, and known to like no other musick but his. This extravagant scheme disgusted the whole town. Many of the most constant attenders of the operas resolve to renounce them, rather than go to them under such extortion and vexation. They exclaimed against the insolent and rapacious projector of this plan. The kings, old and sworn servants of the two theatres of Drury Lane and Covent Garden, reaped the benefit of this general discontent, and were resorted to in crowds by way of opposition to the oratorio. Even the fairest breasts were fired with indignation against this new imposition.

"Assemblies, cards, tea, coffee, and all other female batteries were vigorously employed to defeat the project and destroy the projector.[2] These joint endeavours of all ranks and sexes suc-

[1] All this was intended to represent Handel as accusing his subscribers of complicity with the cheque-takers.

[2] It will presently be seen that Hawkins and Smollett confirm the fact of soirées given by ladies on the evenings when Handel gave representations, in order to tempt his audience away.

ceeded well; that the projector had the mortification to see but a very thin audience at his oratorios; and of about two hundred and sixty odd that it consisted of, it is notorious that not ten paid for their permits; but, on the contrary, had them given them, and money into the bargain, for coming to keep him in countenance. This accident, they say, has thrown him into a deep melancholy, interrupted sometimes by raving fits, in which he fancies he sees ten thousand opera devils coming to tear him to pieces; then he breaks out into frantic incoherent speeches, muttering *sturdy beggars, assassination!* &c. In these delirious moments, he discovers a particular aversion for the *City*. He calls them all a parcel of *rogues*, and asserts that the *honestest trader amongst them deserves to be hanged*. It is much questioned whether he will recover; at least, if he does, it is not doubted but he will seek for a retreat in his *own country*, from the general resentment of the town.

"P.S.—Having seen a little epigram, lately handed about town, which seems to allude to the same subject, I believe it will not be unwelcome to your readers:—

"EPIGRAM.

"Quoth W——e to H——l, 'shall we two agree,
And *Excise* the whole nation?'
H.—'Si, Caro, Si.'
H.—'Of what use are *sheep*, if the *shepherd* can't shear 'em?
All the Haymarket *I*, you at Westminster.'
W.—'Hear him!'
Call'd to order, their *Seconds* appear in their place;
One famed for his *morals*, and one for his *face*![1]
Tho' at first they bid fair, at last they were crost;
The *Excise* was thrown up, and *Deborah* lost."[2]

The venom of calumny fills every line of this furious diatribe, which ends by placing Handel on an equality with the infamous

[1] This must be Heidegger, whose ugliness was so celebrated; as for the other name, I do not know who is referred to.

[2] One of my friends, who has read my manuscript, is of opinion that Handel is for nothing in this letter, or at least has but afforded a pretence for attacking Walpole and his Excise. There are rather specious reasons for entertaining this opinion, but as they have failed to convince me, I have kept the letter for what it appears to me to be. I think, moreover, that we should be very suspicious of these interpretations, which the *Gentleman's Magazine* had opposed a century ago. (See note at page 118.)

Walpole. The vipers of that age cast their slime in much the same manner as the vipers of to-day. Poor humanity, wilt thou never be delivered from tigers, dogs, and vipers!

Handel was moved by the only complaint in Rolli's letter which had any justice, and he gave *Deborah* a second time, on the 21st of March, upon the following terms:—"Boxes and pit half a guinea, and gallery five shillings. N.B.—Subscribers' silver tickets will be admitted." The third and fourth performances took place upon the same terms on the 27th of March and the 4th of April, and the season terminated with *Esther* and *Orlando*.

Deborah was performed without action, as *Esther* was; but the journalists of the period (who were not very accomplished amateurs) so little understood what an oratorio was, that the *Daily Journal* of the 3rd of April records that the King and Princess went to the Haymarket, "to *see* the opera of *Deborah*," and the *London Magazine* of April, 1732, publishes the poem of *Esther*, "as it is now *acted* at the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket, with vast applause; the musick being composed by the great Mr. Handel."

Handel had already introduced into *Esther* many more choruses than the Italians used. His Roman oratorios of 1708, the *Resurrezione* and *Trionfo del Tempo*, have only two apiece. In his second English sacred composition, he developed that distinctive character of modern oratorios, the preponderance of choruses, and he also greatly augmented the accompaniment, as he had already done in his anthems. Prejudice will take advantage of everything. Those powerful choral combinations, which he invented, were accused of excess and violence; he was reproached with having exaggerated the orchestra, whilst he, on the other hand, complained of want of means to express his conceptions.

He was beyond his century, but, like all men of even the boldest genius, he was subject to the influences which surrounded him. Boldness must be estimated relatively. He dared not make use of the big-drum, from which Rossini has extracted such fine effects in his finales; and perhaps he did not refrain from doing so without manifesting some regret; for, with satirical exaggeration,

he is accused of having one day exclaimed, "Ah! why cannot I have a cannon?" The fastidious may, perhaps, object that Handel is outraged by supposing him capable of such a regret. But why so? The big-drum requires to be used with great discernment; but it seems to be as useful as any other bass instrument. It is to the side-drum exactly what the bassoon is to the hautboy, the violoncello to the violin, and the double-bass to the violoncello. It has only become odious through the stupid abuse which has been made of it; but must we proscribe the trumpet because every showman blows it at a fair? must we abolish the side-drums on account of *Drum Quadrilles* at the Surrey Gardens? If Burney is to be believed, Handel would have gone far beyond the big-drum, for he speaks of a bassoon *sixteen feet high*, which was used in the orchestra in the commemoration of 1784, and which John Ashly attempted to play upon. "This bassoon," says he, "was made with the approbation of Mr. Handel," for John Frederick Lampe, the excellent bassoon player belonging to his company. It may be, however, that Burney, who, like all men of wit, was something of a wag, wished to amuse himself at the expense of the credulous, with this wind-instrument of sixteen feet in height; but it is certain that monster bassoons were made in August, 1739, and that Handel made use of them in January, 1740. The *London Daily Post* of the 6th of August, 1739, announces:—"This evening, the usual Concert at Marybone Gardens, to which will be added two grand or double bassoons, made by Mr. Stanesby, junior, the greatness of whose sound surpasses that of any other bass instrument whatsoever; never performed with before." Six months afterwards, in the accompaniment to the air, "Let the pealing organ," of *Allegro, Penseroso ed Moderato*, Handel wrote *bassons e basson grosso*. He deemed it impossible to increase the orchestra more than he did; but he carried it beyond all the dimensions to which it had attained up to his time. Pope makes allusion to this in the *Dunciad*, when he compares him to

"——bold Briareus with a hundred hands."

In the second edition of that satire, "with the illustrations of Scriblerus," the anonymous Scriblerus (who was no other than

Pope himself, assisted by Warburton),[1] comments upon this verse in a note:—"Mr. Handel had introduced a greater number of hands and more variety of instruments into the orchestra, and employed even drums and *cannon* to make a fuller chorus; which proved so much too manly for the fine gentlemen of his age, that he was obliged to remove his musick into Ireland." The *cannon* is probably a poetic license of Scriblerus.

There is, nevertheless, an opinion prevalent now-a-days that Handel's instrumentation is very poor; but this criticism is only just by comparison with the vast dimensions which have been given to modern symphony. In the *Julius Cæsar* of 1723, there are flutes, hautboys, bassoons, trumpets, a harp, a viola da gamba (the *violoncello* had apparently not yet absorbed this instrument), a theorbo, kettle-drums, and four horns, besides what is called the quatuor of stringed instruments: the first and second violins, the viola or tenor, the violoncello, and the double-bass. These form certainly a very respectable orchestra. Many of his airs have a simple accompaniment of violoncello with harpsichord, but this was the result of a principle which did not prevent him from exceptionally making use of more extensive resources. A solo in *Rinaldo*, given in 1711, is accompanied by four trumpets and kettle-drums (*4 trombe e timpani*). Composers were then extremely careful not to smother up the voice with the harmony, and, without desiring to retrograde, it must be admitted that the development of the theatrical orchestra is not invariably a merit. It has now stepped out of its proper place; for it no longer accompanies, but takes an equal share of the performance; and the artists, in order to dominate over its thunders, are often compelled to sing with all the power of their lungs. This prodigality of sound has enlarged our pleasures, but at the expense of their delicacy. It has given birth to the bellowing system—a contagious and very dangerous malady. How many ruined and shattered voices are we compelled to listen to, with-

[1] Dr. Warton, in his edition of Pope's works, inserts the notes of Scriblerus to the fourth book of the *Dunciad*, saying:—"It was thought improper to omit the many notes in this fourth book marked (P), because they were the joint work of Pope and Warburton, and nothing of Mr. Pope ought to be lost."

out counting those which can no longer make a public exhibition of their sad state! And to what shall this be attributed, if not to the manner in which singers are compelled to abuse their vocal faculties, in order to make head against the excess of instrumentation?

With the exception of the clarinet, the cornet-a-piston, and the ophicleide (which were not then invented), Handel had at his disposal all the instruments which are now known, as well as many others which are no longer used—such as the viola da gamba, the violetta marina, the theorbo, the lute, the double-lute, and the cornet; but neither at the opera, nor in the church did he employ them all, as it is now the custom to do. To have done so would have seemed monotonous to him.[1] According to his fancy or his judgment, and according to the subject which he had in hand, he neglected the use of some one or other. But let no one be deceived by this, he knew very well how to make a noise when he was so disposed. In the MS. of his *Fire-works Music*, the overture has twenty-four hautboys, twelve

[1] Handel was as careful to vary the voices of the choruses as the instruments of the orchestra, and he constantly changed them. In the *Chandos Anthems*, the first, fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth, and tenth are in three parts—that is to say, for three voices; or, to speak still more clearly, for three kinds of voices—the soprano, the tenor, and the bass. The third, fifth, seventh, and eleventh are for four voices—the contralto added. The second, ninth, and twelfth are for five voices—the counter-tenor added. In the Utrecht *Te Deum*, "The Cherubins" and "Thou art" are for five voices; "Day by day" is a double chorus in seven parts—on the one side, two sopranos and a tenor; and on the other, two contraltos, a tenor, and a bass. "Se parli," of *Parnasso in Festa*, is a chorus for seven voices—two sopranos, two contraltos, two tenors, and a bass; and the *Gloria*, "Glory to thee, Father," of the *Jubilate*, is for eight voices, disposed like the preceding, with the addition of a second bass. In *Israel in Egypt*, out of twenty-eight choruses, there are not less than seventeen which are double choruses in eight parts—two sopranos, two contraltos, two tenors, and two bassos. Four out of the fourteen choruses in *Belshazzar* are for six different parts; "Recall, O King," and "By slow degree"—two sopranos, two contraltos, and two bassos; "Why, faithless river"—two sopranos, two altos, a tenor, and a bass; "Tell it out among the Heathen"—one soprano, two altos, two tenors, and one bass. Out of nineteen choruses in *Deborah*, five are for eight voices, seven are for five, and two are for six. Out of the fourteen choruses of *Solomon*, there are six double choruses for eight voices, and five for five voices, &c., &c.

When a chorus which is written for two sopranos and a tenor is called a chorus in three parts, or three voices, the reader, not intimately acquainted with musical terms, should understand that the first part is written for soprano voices; the second part, differing from the first, is written also for soprano voices; and the third for tenor voices.

bassoons, nine trumpets, nine horns, three pairs of kettle-drums, a serpent, and a double-bass! The serpent is scratched out, for it was a recent invention, and very probably the composer could not find any one clever enough to please him upon it; but he evidently wished to use it, and (serpent apart) what remains must have counted for something in 1749. Nevertheless, Handel had been already preceded in that direction. There is nothing new under the sun. Perhaps the sun itself is an imitation of a mastodon sun, which formed the centre of some planetary system anterior to ours. But whilst we wait patiently until the disciples of Herschel and Arago put on their spectacles to read the history of the ante-solar system, let us refer to the *General Advertiser* of the 20th of October, 1744, where we shall find this advertisement:—"At the Lincoln's Inn Theatre will be performed a serenata and an interlude, called *Love and Folly*, set to music by Mr. Gaillard. To be concluded with a new Concerto Grosso of 24 bassoons, accompanied by Signor Caporale on the violoncello, intermixed with Duettos by 4 double-bassoons, accompanied by a German flute; the whole blended with numbers of violins, hautboys, fifes, trombony's, French-horns, trumpets, drums, and kettle-drums, &c."

The *et cetera* is superb! It may be supposed that the bassoon had then become a favourite instrument, since twenty-four bassoon players, without reckoning the performers on the four double-bassoons, were so readily obtained.

Handel knew how, upon occasion, to blow at a single blast fifty-six horns, hautboys, trumpets, and bassoons; but he reserved such effects for symphonies to be played in the open air. Nevertheless, his ordinary orchestra was much stronger than it is commonly supposed to have been. People are certainly deceived by his MSS., and by the editions of his publisher Walsh. Walsh used to economize the expenses of engraving by suppressing many of the accompaniments; and he, to save time, only wrote the leading parts when he composed, leaving it to the copyists to multiply them according to his instructions. Thus, in the MS. of *Sosarme*, the duet, "Tu caro sei," has, on the line of the first voice, *Primo cembalo con i suoi bassi*

(harpsichord 1°, with its basses); on the line of the second voice, *Cembalo* 2^do^, *colla teorba e i suoi bassi* (harpsichord 2^do^, with the theorba and its basses); and on the line of the two voices together—*Tutti mà pian, pianissimo.* This duet was, therefore, accompanied by two harpsichords having each its special basses. No one knows anything about this; for neither Walsh nor Arnold (both of whom printed *Sosarme*) make any mention of it. Handel most certainly had two harpsichords in his orchestra; for in the MS. of *Orlando* may be found, three or four times on the bass-line, *Senza bassi, e senza cembali*—(without basses and without harpsichords), although they were not indicated before. Their presence on the bass-line was understood, and the author only mentioned them when it became necessary to suspend their action. It is known, traditionally, that he used twelve first and twelve second violins; and it may be seen from his MS. that he very frequently added instruments *in ripieno*—that is to say, *extras* in the symphonies and the *tutti.* Many of the songs in *Deborah* have parts for *bassons in ripieno,* and other parts for *violoncelli ripieni.* This oratorio had, consequently, not less than four bassoons and four violoncellos in its accompaniment; and the strongest operas in our day have no more. Let us not forget the testimony of Quantz, who writes, in his *Memoirs* (1734), that "Handel's band is uncommonly powerful."

There can be no doubt that he made use of the side-drum; although, according to the ideas then prevalent, it must have seemed to be an enormity. On his MS. of *Giustino* he has written, at the end of the last scene, *Suono di trombi e tamburi* (sound of trumpets and side-drums)—drums in the plural. So also in the MS. of *Joshua,* at the reprise of the chorus, "See the conquering," Handel has written, *Drums ad libitum the second time.* Neither here nor in *Giustino* is there a special part written for the side-drums, but nevertheless their employment is formally recognized. It is the absence of a special part which proves that drums were used and not kettle-drums; for the latter are never left *ad libitum,* and when Handel referred to them it was always under the Italian name *tympani.*

Side-drums are now added to the quick march in *Judas Maccabæus*, although they are not indicated by the original score. This is perhaps not a happy modern license; for, according to Burney, it is a tradition which dates from as far back as Handel himself:—"In the collection of the Earl of Aylesford, formed by the late Mr. Jennyns, are preserved MS. of Handel, including a concerto for French-horns and side-drums, with the march in *Judas Maccabæus*."[1] This assertion is confirmed by a book published by the Society of Concerts of Ancient Music, which says (Sixth Concert of the year 1786, 15th of March):—"A manuscript *Concerto* for horns, trumpets, *drums*, &c., from the Earl of Aylesford's collection." Unfortunately, the present Lord has lost all trace of the MSS. left by his ancestor.[2] The *London Magazine* for 1761,[3] makes mention also of an entertainment given at Guildhall, at which had been executed "the march of *Judas Maccabæus* with side-drums."

If the instrumental portions of Handel's oratorios, as they were executed under his direction, had not been burnt at the destruction of Covent Garden Theatre in 1808, we should doubtless have been astonished at their amplitude, for we should there have found the "Briareus with a hundred hands." A few scattered fragments serve to show that he sometimes added extra accompaniments. The Buckingham Palace treasures have hitherto remained unexplored, and the fact does not much redound to the honour of the English musicians. They have only examined the MSS. of a few popular oratorios, the publication of which seemed likely to profit some publisher. Mr. Lacy has subjected the whole collection to a professional examination on my account; and his labours, which certainly did not extend over less than three months (the fruit of which will be found in the "Catalogue of Works"), have revealed facts which nobody suspected. Mozart introduced flutes, trombones, and French-horns into his instrumental addition to *The Messiah*; but in so doing he only partly did over again what the author had

[1] Page 45 of the *Commemoration*.

[2] See "Catalogue." Note on the *Chandos Anthems*, 1720.

[3] Page 600.

already done! The volume of MSS. (which has been entitled *Sketches*) contains a piece of instrumentation which evidently applies to the chorus, "Lift up your gates." It is thus arranged:—

Violin 1°
Violin 2°
Viole.
Corno 1°
Corno 2°
Hautb 1°
Hautb 2°
Bassons.
Corno 1°
Corno 2°
Hautb 1°
Hautb 2°
Bassons.
Violoni tutti (literally, all the large violins—that is, the double-basses and violoncellos).

If the examination of Handel's MSS. had not been deferred until now, this page would certainly have lightened the labours of Mozart!

And this is not an isolated fact. In the same volume there is an arrangement of the same nature for "Jehovah crown'd," "Through the nation," and "He comes," in *Esther;* and for "He found them guilty," of the *Occasional Oratorio*. Who can say that there were not many similar things in those leaves which, having been abandoned to the copyists, are now lost.

But Handel was a musician not only of great judgment, but also of extreme delicacy. He husbanded his means, and did not always employ them at once. And this is an example which is not much followed in these days. It is stated that an old manager of a certain London theatre, seeing, at a rehearsal, that the horn-players were quiet, asked them why they did not play. On their answering that they were counting their "rests," the indignant manager exclaimed, "Rests, indeed! I pay you to *play*, and not to *rest;* so, either play up, or go away."

The composers of the present day belong a little too much to the same school as this good man; for they seem to think that the instrumentalists, the kettle-drummer included, are not worth their pay if they are not scraping, trumpeting, and rattling away from one end of the score to the other. This has spoilt the taste of the age; for it has led people to believe that the more hands there are at work, the finer the music must be. A great mistake; for the sole effect is to make it more costly. If people would pay attention, they would perceive that a band of seven hundred musicians cannot produce any greater effect than one which has only four hundred well disciplined performers. The sound must be proportioned to the space in which it is to be heard. Seven hundred musicians, or twice as many, might be very suitable for the Temple of Carnac, or the Crystal Palace, but in the greatest concert-rooms, the sound produced by so many would be broken and confused by the walls. They would smother each other, like an army placed in a country too small to permit of its developing itself; so that the more numerous it is, the more dangerous it becomes to itself. I do not wish for a step backwards, but only that labour should not be wasted.

The organs of hearing remain the same as they have ever been, but human sensations and tastes become modified. Modern ears have acquired larger appetites than ancient ones. They are even too fond of noise, which delights children and savages. The imitators of the inimitable Rossini have caused this corruption; and now that people have become accustomed to large orchestras, they are not contented with those of Handel. I have twice heard Bach's admirable *Passion*, executed in the most perfect manner under the direction of Mr. Bennett, precisely as it was composed, and I must confess that on each occasion, during the first half hour, the very slight accompaniment, with its predominance of hautboys, appeared somewhat peculiar. I am very far, therefore, from complaining of a slight augmentation of the Handelian instrumentation; but what I wish to point out is, that deficient in strength as it may appear to us all now, his contemporaries reproached him with exaggerating the forces of harmony, and with being fond of noise. History

has left more than one curious proof of this. In the *Reminiscences of Angelo*, we find:—" . . . This occurred during a sudden storm of wind, thunder, and lightning. The trumpets were sounding, and at the moment a tremendously loud clap of thunder, burst as it were right over the palace, which seemed to appall many present; when the King, addressing himself to Lord Pembroke, exclaimed, 'How sublime! what an accompaniment! how this would have delighted Handel.'" Listen also to a former admirer of Handel, who deserted "the friend of thunder," because he "tore his ears to pieces:"—"There was a time when man-mountain Handel had got the superiority, notwithstanding many attempts had been made to keep him down, and might have maintained it probably, had he been content to have pleased people in their own way; but his evil genius would not suffer it; for he imagining, forsooth, that nothing could obstruct him in his career whilst at the zenith of his greatness, broached another kind of music, more full, more grand (as his admirers are pleased to call it), and, to make the noise the greater, caused it to be performed by at least double the number of voices and instruments than ever were heard in the theatre before. In this, he not only thought to rival our patron god, but others also, particularly *Æolus, Neptune,* and *Jupiter;* for, at one time, I have expected the house to be blown down with his artificial wind; at another time, that the sea would have overflowed its banks and swallowed us up. But beyond everything, his thunder was most intolerable. I shall never get the horrid rumbling of it out of my head. This was literally, you will say, taking us by storm. Hah! hah! But mark the consequence. By this attempt to personate *Apollo,* he shared the fate of *Phaëton; Heidegger* revolted, and with him most of the prime nobility and gentry. From this happy era we may date the growth and establishment of *Italian music* in our island. Then came the healing balm of *Hasse, Vinci, Lampugnani, Pescetti, Gluck,* &c. Perhaps it will be asked by some of my readers, what became of the old *German?* Why, like a giant thrown on his back, he made vast struggles to get up again, but in vain," &c.[1]

[1] *The Art of Composing Music.*

We may now ask what has become of Hasse, of Vinci, and of Lampugnani? Even their names would scarcely be known, if they were not in a manner mixed with the history of "the old German."

The pencil of Goupy offers us the same criticism under a different form. A caricature, which is attributed to that scene-painter,[1] exhibits the "man-mountain" at the organ, with a boar's head furnished with enormous tusks and a colossal wig, upon which perches the bird of solitude; alluding to his passionate temper and habits of retirement. In the midst of the chamber, which is in great disorder, are kettle-drums, a hunting-horn, a side-drum, and an enormous trumpet; and through an open window are visible a donkey's head braying, and a park of artillery, which is fired, without cannoneers, only by the blazing music of the organist. An echo of these cannons is heard again at the end of a burlesque piece written by Sheridan when he was young,[2] in which he brings a poet upon the stage who is conducting the rehearsal of his play. At the moment when Jupiter proclaims himself to be the sovereign of the skies, the poet fires off a pistol at the wings, confidentially observing to the public, "This hint, gentlemen, I took from Handel." What would Goupy and Sheridan think of us now, if they could hear us complaining of the scantiness of this firearm musician's orchestration?

Since the subject has introduced a reference to Goupy's caricature, let me complete the description of it. The satirist ridicules the gastronomic propensities of Handel by making him sit upon a little beer-barrel, and attaching a ham and fowls to the pipes of the organ; a turbot is set upon a pile of books, and the floor of the apartment is strewn with oyster-shells. The monster has a scroll beneath his feet, upon which is written "Pension, Benefit, Nobility, Friendship." And behind the organ stands Æsop, who offers him a mirror, as much as to say, "See what you are." Above the picture is inscribed, "The true

[1] "Le-Nuove Scene sono del Sigr. Giusseppe Goupy." Opera-book of *Admetus*, 1727.

[2] Quoted by Mr. Townsend.

representation and character, etc.;" and below are these four lines:—

"Strange monsters have adorned the stage,
Not Afric's coast produces more;
And yet no land, nor clime, nor age,
Have equalled this harmonious boar."

Goupy, who reproaches Handel with violating even friendship, had probably received one of his rough thrusts. The print was reproduced on another occasion. The same subject, the same ideas, and the same details, but differently treated and very badly drawn. On the scroll of this we find, "I am myself alone;" and the inscription is likewise changed into "The Charming Brute:"—

"The figure's odd—yet who would think,
Within this tunn of meat and drink,
There dwells a soul of soft desires,
And all that harmony inspires?

"Can contrast such as this be found
Upon the globe's extensive round?
There can—yon hogshead is his seat,
His sole devotion is—to eat."

This print, which arose from a not very inventive hatred, is published "conformally to the law of 1754." Copies are now rarer than those of the original caricature, which is supposed to have belonged to 1730. I know of only one impression, which belongs to Mr. Hawkins, a very distinguished and obliging collector.

But Handel had obstacles to overcome of greater importance than the gross jocularities of his short-sighted opponents. There was nothing that was not used against him. Some persons pushed their hatred to such an extravagance as to accuse him of profanity, because he took sacred subjects into the theatre and caused verses of the Bible to be sung there![1] This was a very grave accusation at the time, and it will presently be seen that it greatly delayed the success of *The Messiah*.

In spite of all, *Deborah* and *Esther*, with *Orlando* and *Floridante* occupied the season of 1733. There is no doubt that the English oratorios were sung by the Italian company. Burney is in error when he says that *Orlando* was the last work in which

[1] Mainwaring.

Handel wrote specially for Senesino. His name and that of Montagnana, and the Signore Strada, Negri, and Bertolli, may still be found written in pencil, by Handel himself, in the copy of *Deborah,* which forms part of the collection of volumes which he used for conducting.

The season of 1733 terminated on the 9th of June. It had been very much agitated by these dissensions, of which Paolo Rolli's letter and Goupy's caricature are the echoes. Handel was of a very passionate disposition. Proud and imperious as he was, he valued himself far beyond those who interpreted him, and he seems to have considered them too much in the light of mere instruments. Senesino, who was also conscious of his own merit, and who was naturally proud of the applause of the public, sometimes put himself in opposition to the will of the passionate composer-manager. This made the latter only the more absolute, and in the end their engagement was broken off.

Haughty as he was, and in spite of all that has been said on this matter, I do not believe that Handel was wholly to blame in this business. A tyrant is nothing but a slave turned inside out, and he had too little of the vile nature of a slave ever to be a tyrant. Beard, Lowe, Reinhold, Signora Frazi, Signora Galli, and Mrs. Cibber, all the artists permanently resident in England whom he employed, remained with him from the moment at which they made their appearance in his works down to the end of his life; which is a very good proof that commerce with him was not always intolerable. Senesino, on the other hand, was not a model for sweetness of temper. Quantz relates, in his *Memoirs,* that Senesino had quarrels with the chapel-master Heinechen, which brought about the dissolution of the Dresden company in 1719.[1] Once, at a rehearsal in London, he offended Mrs. Anastasia Robinson (afterwards Lady Peterborough) so grievously, "that Lord Peterborough publicly and violently caned him behind the scenes."[2] The time is past, and we should be glad of it, when singers allowed themselves to be caned by lords.

[1] Burney, page [*22] of the *Account of the Commemoration.*

[2] Walpole; quoted by Burney, page 297.

Many members of the nobility remained faithful to the cause of Bononcini, who was patronized by the celebrated Duke of Marlborough. The Duke's daughter, Lady Godolphin, who obtained after his death the title of Duchess of Marlborough, was the soul of this league. She took the favourite to reside in her house, where she for a long time gave two concerts every week, consisting entirely of his music. She allowed him besides a pension of £500, which was worth at least as much as £800 in the present day. This fact is attested by Mainwaring, Hawkins, and Burney. With certain exceptions, the English aristocracy had, from the beginning, no great inclination for Handel. Accustomed to be flattered by artists, they were shocked at that dignity which he preserved towards everybody. Burney remarks, with his habitual exactness, in speaking of the subscribers to the opera of *Alessandro* (1726):—"It is remarkable that among the subscribers, not above two or three of the directors of the Royal Academy, or hardly any other great personages, appear on the list, though the publication preceded the quarrel with the nobility a considerable time." On the other hand, there are none but dukes, marquises, earls, and right honourables in the subscription list for the two volumes of *Cantate e Duetti*, published by Bononcini in 1722, at the price of two guineas per copy, although the volume had not more than ninety-nine pages. It brought him in, it is said, £1000. Some of his admirers subscribed for two and even five copies; the Right Hon. Mr. Pulteney, ten; the Duke of Queensbury, twenty-five; his wife, the Duchess of Queensbury, twenty-five; Lord Carleton, thirty; the Countess of Sunderland, fifty-five; &c. All these wealthy adversaries of Handel naturally espoused the cause of Senesino at the outset of the quarrel; and, as is always the case, the more they meddled the more they managed to embitter it. When the majority of the nobles who patronized the King's Theatre saw an artist of great talent banished from the stage, they expressed their regrets somewhat sharply, and ended by demanding that Senesino should be retained.

Handel was one of those few men who defend their honour to the death. He did not know what it was to retreat, and he

would have sacrificed everything rather than submit to a humiliation. Like Cassius, he said:—

> "I cannot tell what you and other men
> Think of this life; but, for my single self,
> I had as lief not be as live to be
> In awe of such a thing as I myself."

He could not tolerate that a man of whom he had to complain should be forced upon him, and he replied that Senesino should never reappear in his theatre. His former patrons themselves grew indignant at such resistance, became excited against this arrogant man, and, resolving to go no more to the Haymarket, they gave up the boxes which they had hired there, and joined the Bononcini faction, in order that they might have elsewhere an Italian opera with the favourite singer. All this was decided even before the close of the season on the 9th of June, 1733; for, on the 13th, the following advertisement appeared in the *Daily Post*:—"The subscribers to the opera in which Signor Senesino and Signora Cuzzoni are to perform, are desired to meet at Mr. Hickford's great room, in Panton Street, on Friday next, at eleven o'clock, in order to settle proper methods for carrying on the subscription. Such persons who cannot be present are desired to send their proxies."

Signora Cuzzoni did not return to London before 1734; but her engagement had doubtless been concluded by correspondence. The theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields was hired, and they sent abroad for a company.

Perhaps it was not entirely party-spirit which led the nobility, upon whom opera principally depends, to follow this spoilt child Senesino. Apart from his great talent, he was an evirato, or male soprano, and he had that clear, silvery, effeminate, and excessively high voice which is peculiar to that class of singers,[1] which was then in very high favour. In the eighteenth

[1] By a phenomenon of which physiological science has offered no explanation, the effect of eunuchism is to fix the voice at the state in which it is at the time when the execrable operation is performed. This is why these singers have children's voices. Thanks to the progress of humanity, there are no longer any evirati. The last were Crescentini and Veluti, of whom amateurs of sixty years' experience still recount wonders.

century, an alto (counter-tenor), however high he could sing, never could obtain the success of the Nicolinis, the Senesinos, the Farinellis, and the Caffarellis. Colman, in all the period of time which his little MS. embraces (that is to say, between 1712 and 1734), whilst he records the names of the songstresses, the evirati, and the counter-tenors, as they appeared upon the English stage, does not take the trouble of mentioning a single tenor or a single basso. Handel shared the mania of his century during the earlier period of his life. The four parts of *Trionfo del Tempo* are for two sopranos and two alti. Out of the seven personages in *Sylla*, there are three sopranos (Metella, Flavia, and Celia), an evirato (Lepido), and two counter-tenors (Sylla and Claudio). The bassos were considered in the light of a disagreeable necessity, and at least a fourth of the early operas of Handel have seldom more than one bass air. He even despised for a long time the tenors, of whom not one is to be found in *Amadigi, Admeto, Ricardo, Ottone, Siroe, Tolomeo, Orlando,* and *Giulio Cesare*. He became very much modified on this point about the middle of his career, and he gave admirable bass airs to Boschi, Montagnana, Waltz, and Reimschneider. The principal personages in his oratorios are tenors; but the counter-tenors and the high sopranos never lost their hold upon his affections. There is a certain singer described as "the boy" among the voices in the English *Acis* of 1732, *Athalia* of 1733, *Israel* of 1738, *Sosarme* of 1749, and *Jephtha* of 1751.[1] One might almost suppose that it was *the everlasting boy* mentioned in the chorus of *Semele*, "Now Love, that everlasting boy!" The persistence in "the boy" proves that Handel always preserved something of his ancient predilections, only he applied them better. The seraphic charm of the clear and limpid voices of children touched him. That strong and austere man loved grace as the rude Benvenuto Cellini did, who could never resist the sweet "fluting" of his young and melancholy pupil Ascanio.

What has just been observed will serve to explain more completely the favour which Senesino enjoyed, and which he

1 "The boy" of 1732 was called Goodwill; that of 1738, Robinson; and that of 1749, Savage.

preserved to the end. In the *Musical Entertainer*, by Bickham (1737), there is "The Ladies Lamentation for the Loss of Senesino." The engraving which adorns this complaint represents him as a giant clothed like a Roman emperor, with women kissing the hem of his coat of mail, and some weeping. On the other side are heaps of bags of gold, being carried by porters towards the frigate in which he is about to embark.

This man soon became the rallying point for all the malcontents. Bononcini had quitted Great Britain, after a discussion of which the details are sufficiently curious to excite interest even now. In addition to which some useful notes may be given with reference to the cultivation of music in this country. The documents connected with the business were published in a pamphlet (now exceedingly rare) which appeared in 1732.[1]

"To Signor Antonio Lotti, at Venice.

"London, February 9, 1731. (O. S.)

"Sir,—Several of the most eminent professors of music in this city have, some years since, established a Musical Academy, not for the management of theatrical affairs, but the improvement of the science, by searching after, examining, and hearing performed, the works of the masters who flourished before or about the age of *Palestrina;* however, not entirely neglecting those of distinguished rank, lovers of music, and skillful in the performance, have desired to be admitted into this society; among whom we shall always with pleasure remember Abbot *Stefani*, Bishop of *Spiga*, who, desiring to have his name entered among us, was unanimously chosen our president. It is by order of this Academy, Sir, I write to you at present. The occasion I shall explain to you in as short a manner as I am able: One of our members having received from *Venice* a book entitled, *Duetti, Terzetti e Madrigali*, and having looked it over, pitched upon the XVIII Madrigal, the only one for five voices, inscribed *La Vita Caduca*, beginning "In una siepe ombrosa," to be performed in the Academy. Signor *Bononcini*, who is also one of our mem-

[1] *Letters from the Academy of Ancient Music, &c.*

bers, and who, three or four years before, had presented us this madrigal as his own,[1] being informed of this, immediately sent a letter to the Academy, in which, having greatly complained of the person who introduced it among us under your name, he accuses you as the plagiary of his works, and affirms that he composed this madrigal thirty years ago, exactly as it is printed in your book, at the command of the Emperor *Leopold;* and, for the proof of this, appeals to the archives of that Emperor. The Academy, entirely impartial between you, not more favouring him, though a member, than you, known to them only from your reputation, but consulting the honour of both, ordered me to write this letter to you, and another on the same subject to *M. Fuchs,* chapel-master to the Emperor, that the truth being discovered, the real author may receive his deserved praise. I don't, therefore, in the least doubt but that you will have so much regard for your own fame and reputation among us, as to inform us, as soon as possibly you can, how this matter stands.

"Upon this occasion of writing, the Academy have ordered

[1] Hawkins, who was himself a member of the Academy, says twice (pp. 862, and 884) that it was Dr. Greene who had brought him the madrigal, as being by his friend Bononcini. When the affair turned against the latter, Greene left the Academy, declaring that he was calumniated. He took with him the children of St. Paul's Choir, of which he was director, and established concerts at the Devil Tavern, near Temple Bar, which caused Handel to say that "poor Dr. Greene had gone to the Devil." Greene, who as a composer was poor, but as a man was skilful and adroit, bore Handel no goodwill. Hawkins says:—"He courted the friendship of Mr. Handel with a degree of assiduity, that, to say the truth, bordered upon servility; and in his visits to him at Burlington House, and at the Duke of Chandos's, was rather more frequent than welcome. At length Mr. Handel, discovering that he was paying the same court to his rival Bononcini as to himself, would have nothing more to say to him, and gave orders to be denied whenever Greene came to visit him." Busby, among the thousands of anecdotes in his *Concert Room,* has this one:—"Dr. Maurice Greene, whose compositions, whether for the church or the chamber, were never remarkably fine, having solicited Handel's perusal and opinion of a solo anthem which he had just finished, was invited by the great German to take his coffee with him the next morning, when he would say what he thought of it. The Doctor was punctual in his attendance; the coffee was served, and a variety of topics discussed, but not a word said by Handel concerning the composition; at length Greene, whose patience was exhausted, said, with eagerness and anxiety, which he could no longer conceal, 'Well, Sir, but my anthem—what do you think of it?' 'Oh, your antum! Ah, why, I did tink it wanted air.' Dr. Greene,—'Air, Sir?' 'Yes, air; and so I did hang it out of de window!'" This story is gross, and gratuitously insulting, and, worse still (with very bad taste), it is complicated by a pun. All which are more reasons than I require to disbelieve it utterly.

me to add, that if you will please to communicate to us any of your works, accommodated to our institution, such as *mottets, masses,* or other church pieces, for four or more voices, with or without instruments, we shall ever acknowledge the favour, and very gladly repay all expenses of copying and sending the papers. We have between thirty and forty voices, and as many instruments. I can't doubt, but that as you excel so much in your art, you must feel an equal love for it, and will therefore wish that the science of harmony may flourish in every part of the world.—Yours, &c.,

"H. Bishop."

The original of this letter is in Latin; Lotti replied in French:—

"March 29, 1731. Venice.

"* * * As to the occasion of your writing, I confess truly Sir, that I was extremely surprised to see myself charged as indebted for my own property; and after twenty-six years that my book has been in the hands of the public, to find myself under a necessity of proving that it really is mine; had this been represented to me by another, I would have appealed to the public notoriety of the fact, and have retrenched myself in silence; but the respect I owe to you, and to the illustrious body you represent, obliges me to satisfy your request.

"The Duetti, Terzetti, and Madrigals were composed by me a little before the impression. There are some professors and lovers of music who with their own eyes saw the progress of the madrigal in question, who sung it, and heard it rehearsed from the rough draught, before it was wrote out fair. The verses, 'In una siepe,' &c., were made on purpose, and given me by the Abbot *Pariati,* who was then at *Venice,* and who is now at *Vienna,* in the post of poet to his Imperial Majesty *Charles* VI. Now for the occasion of printing this madrigal.

"The late *M. Marc Antonio Zanni,* vice chapel-master to his Majesty the Emperor Leopold, used, from time to time, to send me his compositions, always desiring that I would send him some of mine. I sent him the madrigal for five voices, 'In una

siepe ombrosa,' and he was so good as to cause it to be sung in the presence of the Emperor Leopold.

* * * * * * * *

"This, Sir, is in short the history you required. For reward of my obedience, I only desire that you would be very sure that some one willing to do M. *Bononcini* an ill turn, has falsely attributed to him the letter written to the Academy in his name; for it is incredible, that, learned as he is, he should, merely out of gaiety of heart, adopt my defects for his own. I hope there will appear some misunderstanding or mistake, and waiting the event, I am easy, having learned of my master, Mr. *Legrenzi*, that those who are learned in music, like the illustrious Academy, know, as in painting, the hand of the artist, by the design, the drawing, the colouring, &c., and judge of authors by their works, and not of works by their authors. As this is so, I ought, Sir, to be more circumspect in sending you any of my productions; but as I am acquainted with the generosity of your nation, I will take the liberty, the first opportunity, of sending you some composition to exercise your patience, and shall esteem it a great happiness if you will honour me with your observations, that I may make use of them to my own advantage. I desire you, Sir, to present my compliments to the illustrious Academy in general, and each member in particular, being, with all veneration and acknowledgment, Sir, your most humble, and most obliged servant.

"ANT. LOTTI."

The remainder of the correspondence is in English. The reply of the Academy was as follows:—

"To MR. LOTTI.

"London, 9th June, 1731.

* * * * * * *

* * * "The Academy received your letter with great pleasure: most of them, from that excellent rule of Signor Legrenzi, but all convicted by so many and so considerable testimonies as you bring, unanimously agreed that the madrigal is

yours. I also (which we thought just) wrote a letter to Signor Buononcini, which was delivered into his own hands, in which I sent him copies of both our letters, and told him I would wait a week before I wrote to you again, that he might, if he should think proper, have an opportunity of replying. But I waited a fortnight to no purpose. I then sent a second letter by the keeper of our library; and Signor Buononcini not being at home, two or three times, I ordered it to be left with his servant. But this also, which I am surprised at, was denied; for the servant said he had orders to receive no letters but what came by the post. Thus stands the affair with Signor Buononcini. Yet, notwithstanding this, some persons who pretend to be his friends, and who have separated from the Academy on this very account, as it appears, since no other is pretended, obstinately assert the madrigal to be his, still appeal to the archives of the Emperor, and accuse you of theft, and the Academy of slander, through the whole town. No answer from M. Fuchs has yet come to my hands; from what cause or by accident, if he be still alive, I can't so much as guess. The Academy, after hearing your letter, were willing to have prosecuted this affair no farther; but they think it is your interest as well as theirs that these calumnies should be answered.

"They entreat therefore, Sir, that entirely to refute these ill-minded persons, you would be pleased to send us some certificates of the Count del Par, Abbot Pariati, or some others who saw the madrigal at Venice before it was published. But of this enough.

" * * * As it is our design to search for what is beautiful in the works of the ancients, and to seek out those things that have been either neglected or forgot, we doubt not but we shall find you worthy to be placed in the list of those few who cultivate the true study of musick, which you justly complain is at present too much neglected. * * * I hope, Sir, that for the future we shall correspond not about these trifling squabbles, but about things relating to the advancement of musick.

"H. Bishop."

We see that a hundred and twenty-five years ago, the English Academy complained that scientific musical studies were neglected; and it cannot be doubted that the same thing was said a hundred and twenty-five years before that. At every epoch, the past is praised at the expense of the present.

Lotti's reply was triumphant:—

(Without date.)

"Venice.

"Sir,— * * * I return thanks to you, the whole Academy, and the worthy members of it, for the justice they do me. * * * I conceive that the partisans of Signor Buononcini are displeased with the Academy and with me, and I could wish to be master of the art of musick which is lost, that had the power of raising and calming the passions. I think, however, that they do not much consult the honour of their friend; because, by separating from the Academy, they show a resentment which might be just were the dispute about an air only; but for a madrigal indeed it is too much, since Signor Buononcini can make others equal and much superior. * * * I submit to the commandment of the Academy; therefore I inclose some papers from Vienna and from Venice, sufficient even for those who have hated the truth. * * * Among these you will also find a madrigal for five voices, which I composed at Dresden when I was in the service of that Court; and you will know it to be grist from the same mill. I know not whether this will have the fortune to be attributed to any other; but should it happen so, I shall equally comfort myself with the reflection that my parts are not thought mean, when people are found who are willing to adopt them for their own."

"September 9, 1731, Venice.

"The under-written attests upon my oath, in relation to the madrigal for five voices set to musick, upon the words 'In una siepe ombrosa,' &c., as it appears at present in the printed book of Signor Antonio Lotti, organist of the Ducal Chapel of St. Mark, that I saw the said madrigal in the rough draught while it was yet composing, with the alterations and rasures of some notes as the work went on; and also that I heard it prac-

tised several times—sometimes in parts, sometimes entire, in the presence of several persons; and I myself caused it afterwards to be printed with the other *duetti, terzetti,* &c., by Antonio Bartoli, at the proper charge of the said printer, he giving 29 copies to the author.

"I. Gio. Franc. Maria Bettoni, attested as above."

Michael Angelo Gasparini declares, for his part, that he knew Lotti in 1686, with their master, Sig. Legrenzi, and that the madrigal was by him. Finally, the Abbé Pietro Parati, "Poet to his Cesarian and Catholic Majesty," affirms, from Vienna, in Austria, the 27th of July, 1731, that he wrote the words "In una siepe," for Lotti, and that he gave them to him, and that he saw him set them to music.

Whereupon the English Academy wrote the following letter to Lotti:—

Letter to Signor Lotti (*undated.*)

* * * * * * *

"The testimonies, Dear Sir, you transmitted to us have had their due weight with us, and abundantly confirm us in the good opinion we had before conceived of you. It can be no disagreeable news to you to hear that we have sent them, together with the several letters that have passed between us, to be printed.

"By the ship called the *Ruby,* you will receive from us two pieces of musick, the work of two English masters, *Thos. Tallis* and *William Bird;* the latter, organist and composer to *Henry* VIII., the former, master of the royal chapel in the reign of the same king. When you cast your eye upon those pieces, you will clearly perceive that true and solid musick is not in its infancy with us, and that, whatever some on your side of the *Alps* may imagine to the contrary, the muses have of old time taken up their abode in *England,* so that to our ancestors, in whose footsteps we tread, it is that we are chiefly indebted for what we know and practise, and we dutifully acknowledge the obligation.

"We have great things in design for the farther advancement of the harmonic science, which shall be made known to you at proper opportunities.

* * * * * * *

"Adieu, most worthy brother Academician."

The *protegé* of Marlborough, in shutting his door to Lotti's first answer, left no doubt in any reasonable mind of the reality of the forgery. People were the more astonished, because he was capable of composing a much better madrigal than the Venetian. But the theft was proved, and the Handelists did not fail to make as much of it as possible. Bononcini had at first thought he would extricate himself by audacity, but when once the affair was taken up, he left England immediately, doubtless hoping to divert attention by making people believe that he did not interest himself about the question. It was at the end of May, 1731, that he refused to receive the Academy's letter, and the *Daily Courant*, of the 30th of the following June, announces his departure for France. He returned in 1732; for, on the 14th of June in that year, we have seen above that he produced a pastoral at Covent Garden. Perhaps he thought that his absence had silenced discussion; but the Academy, on the contrary, hastened to publish the pamphlet which destroyed him, and he left England for ever, in 1733, after having preserved, throughout the whole of the discussion, a silence which was conformable with the arrogance of his character. When his fall was certain, he did not abase himself any further by attempting a defence; but quitted the country. Silence is the only shadow beneath which culpability can retire with dignity. We find him afterwards carrying across Europe his astonishing facility of composition, and associating himself, in spite of his morose disposition, with a schemer who pretended that he had discovered the philosopher's stone; until he died, almost a centenarian, in solitude and obscurity—the merited punishment of an ill-spent life.

CHAPTER VI.

1734.

"Athalia"—The two Rival Theatres—"Ariadne"—"Parnasso in Festa"—"Wedding Anthem"—Indomitable Energy of Handel—"Hautbois Concertos"—"Fugues for the Organ"—Handel becomes an Impressario—Arbuthnot's Satire in his Favour—"Terpsichore"—Masques—"Alcina"—"Alexander's Feast"—Indifference of the Composers of the Eighteenth Century with regard to the Publication of their Works—"Atalanta"—"Arminius"—"Justin"—"Berenice"—Ruin of the Two Theatres—Failure of Handel—Artistic Ignorance of the Public of that Epoch—The High Prices given to Great Singers.

In spite of Bononcini's fall, his faction did not the less continue the war against Handel. On the 13th of June, 1733, as we have seen, they held a sort of coalition conference with Senesino. Their great adversary seems to have regarded the storm which was brewing around him with a calm, untroubled eye; for, having finished *Athalia* on the 7th of June, he went tranquilly to introduce it at a Public Act of the University of Oxford.

What is called a Public Act is the ceremony which takes place every year, for conferring the degrees of the University after an examination. This lasts three or four days; the mornings of which are devoted to science and the evenings to pleasure. The Memoirs of Thomas Hearne (a Master of Arts belonging to St. Edmund's Hall,[1] one of the Colleges of the University of Oxford), published very recently, declare that Handel was directly invited by the Vice-Chancellor of this University:—

"1733, July 5.—One Handell, a foreigner (who, they say, was born at Hanover), being desired to come to Oxford, to perform in musick at this Act, in which he hath great skill, is come down, the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Holmes) having requested him

[1] *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ:* The Remains of T. Hearne, M.A., of St. Edmund's Hall; being Extracts of his MS. Diaries. Collected by P. Bliss. Oxford, 1856.

so to do, and, as an encouragement, to allow him the benefit of the Theater both before the Act begins and after it. Accordingly, he hath published papers for a performance to-day, at 5*s.* a ticket. This performance began a little after five o'clock in the evening. This is an innovation. The players might be as well permitted to come and act."

"July 6.—The players being denied coming to Oxford by the Vice-Chancellor, and that very rightly, tho' they might as well have been here as Handell and (his lowsy crew) a great number of forreign fidlers, they went to Abbington, and yesterday began to act there, at which were present many gownsmen from Oxford.

"July 8.—Half an hour after five o'clock, yesterday in the afternoon, was another performance, at 5*s.* a ticket, in the Theater by Mr. Handell for his own benefit, continuing till about eight o'clock.—N.B. His book (not worth 1*d.*) he sells for 1*s.*"

"Cet homme assurément n'aime pas la musique."—*Amphytrion.*

I have also met with two old pamphlets, in which are to be found new and more conclusive evidence of what the composer did at Oxford:—*The Oxford Act,* A.D. 1733, "Thursday, the 5th of July. About five o'clock the great Mr. Handel shew'd away with his *Esther,* an oratorio, or sacred drama, to a very numerous audience, at five shillings a ticket."

On the 6th no music. On Saturday, the 7th:—"The Chevalier Handel very judiciously, forsooth, ordered out tickets for his *Esther* this evening again.

"Some of the company that had found themselves but very scamblingly entertained at our dry disputations, took it into their heads to try how a little fiddling would sit upon them.

"Such as cou'dn't attend before, squeezed in with as much alacrity as others strove to get out, so that e're his myrmidons cou'd gain their posts, he found that he had little likelihood to be at such a loss for a house as, once upon a time, folks say he was.

"So that notwithstanding the barbarous and inhuman combination of such a parcel of unconscionable chaps, he disposed, it seems, of most of his tickets, and had, as you may guess, a pretty mottley appearance into the bargain."

On Sunday, the 8th of July, "at the church in the morning, Mr. Handel's *Te Deum* was performed; and in the evening, the 'Jubilate' to the *Te Deum*." Therefore it was the Utrecht *Te Deum* which was played. On Monday, no music. On Tuesday:—"The company in the evening were entertained with a spick and span new oratorio, called *Athalia*. One of the royal and ample had been saying, that truly it was his opinion that the theater was erected for other guise purposes, than to be prostituted to a company of squeeking, bawling, outlandish singsters, let the agreement be what it wou'd. This morning, Wednesday, July the 11th, there was, luckily enough, for the benefit of some of Handel's people, a serenata in their grand hall. In the evening, *Athalia* was served up again; but the next night he concluded with his oratorio of *Deborah*."

It is not easy to determine whether the writer was a friend or an enemy of "the Chevalier Handel;" but the "barbarous and inhuman combination of such a parcel of unconscionable chaps," leads to the inference that some enemies had followed him to Oxford.

The second pamphlet is a piece of buffoonery, in the form of a ballad-opera, in which the Oxford under-graduates, accompanied by young ladies, complain that these solemnities bring them into ruinous expenses:—

"*Thoughtless.*—In the next place, there's the furniture of my room procur'd me some tickets to hear that bewitching music, that cursed Handel, with his confounded oratorios; I wish him and his company had been yelling in the infernal shades below.

"*Haughty.*—Our cases run in a parallel; nay, 'tis worse with me, for I question whether my gaping herd of creditors won't be for sequestring my fellowship or not. I don't see what occasion we had for this Act, unless it was to ruin us all. It would have been much more prudent, I think, had it pass'd in the negative; for I am sure it has done more harm than good amongst us; no one has gain'd anything by it but Mr. Handel and his crew."

As the tickets were sold for five shillings each, these gentlemen, to be ruined, must have been accompanied by a great many young ladies. Nevertheless, the attendance was certainly very great, and the composer must have gained a great deal of money. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, in the same year, reports that *Athalia* was received at Oxford "with vast applause, before an audience of 3700 persons."

This oratorio, which the author afterwards produced frequently in London, was the cause of the diploma of a doctor of music being offered to Handel;[1] but he refused it. Of what service could such a degree be to him? On being asked one day why he did not take his degree, he replied, "Vat de dyfil I trow my money away for dat wich de blockhead wish? I no want."[2]

The name of Montagnana is to be found upon the MS. of *Athalia*, and he therefore at that time still remained with Handel; but a very short time afterwards he joined Senesino. Signora Bertolli and Celeste Gismondi, two of the principal songstresses of the company, had deserted from the beginning, "to enlist under the banner of the barons." Signora Strada alone remained faithful to the great man, who continued to present a determined front, and seemed to defy the tempest; for he was of the family of oaks, which will break rather than bend.

It appears that, with his usual resolution and activity, he went to the Continent to engage a new company. Hawkins says that, "at the end of his engagement with Heidegger, Handel, together with old Mr. Smith, went abroad in quest of singers. In Italy, he heard Farinelli, and also Carestini; and, which is very strange, preferring the latter, he engaged with him, and returned to England. With this assistance he ventured to undertake an opera in the Haymarket on his own bottom."[3] The partnership with Heidegger, it is certain, did not terminate before the month of June, 1734; and it is not less certain, as will presently be seen, that it was at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and not at the Haymarket, that Handel commenced the career of *impressario;* finally, his company of 1734 did not contain any new artist. But Hawkins frequently confounds both times and facts; and it is more than probable that Handel

[1] The doctorship of music, which was established in England beyond 1450, is a degree conferred by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where there are composition classes. To obtain a diploma, it is only necessary to write, in a passable manner, a cantata for eight voices, provided always that you can add to the cantata a sum of one hundred guineas. This degree is not much sought after now-a-days.

[2] A. B. C, *Dario Musico.*

[3] Hawkins, page 876.

made this journey whilst he was still in partnership with Heidegger, when he returned from Oxford, from July to the end of September, 1733. His *Ariadne* is signed on the 5th of October. He reopened the season at the Haymarket on the 30th of October, with an entirely new Italian company:—Scalzi, the two sisters Negri, Sg^a^. Durastanti (who reappeared after ten years' absence), and Carestini,[1] who made his *début* on the 4th of December, 1733, in *Cajus Fabricius*, a pasticcio opera.

But, in the meantime, his enemies were not inactive; they had engaged Farinelli, the prodigy of singers, and Signora Cuzzoni returned. Porpora and Arrigoni were engaged as composers,[2] under the direction of Lord Cooper. Such was the coalition, which commenced operations at Lincoln's Inn Theatre, on the 29th of December, 1733,[3] with the *Ariadne* of Porpora, written (says the libretto of Paolo Rolli), "per la nobilita Britannica." The general rehearsal took place four days before the opening, at the house of the Prince of Wales. The *Daily Post*, Tuesday, December 25th, 1733, says:—"Last night there was a *rehearsal* of a new opera at the Prince of Wales's house in the royal gardens in Pall Mall, where was present a great concourse of the nobility and quality of both sexes." Frederick, Prince of Wales, joined for some time the opposition against Handel; but he very soon recovered from that folly, to which he doubtless only yielded for the purpose of vexing his father. So fond was he of this, that it would not be astonishing to find in some memoir that he tried to walk upon his head for the purpose of acting in a contrary manner to his father.[4]

[1] Carestini, a man of distinguished character, was a male soprano, a good musician, and gifted with a magnificent voice. Colman and the book of *Parnasso in Festa* spell his name Carestino. He is sometimes surnamed Cusanino, because the Cusani family in Milan had taken him under their protection from the age of twelve years.

[2] See Fétis and Choron. Arrigoni produced at London, in 1734, an opera called *Fernando*. (Fétis.)

[3] *Daily Journal.*

[4] The Royal Family of England at that time offered a revolting spectacle. King George the Second, like Louis the Fourteenth, exposed to the whole world the indecencies of his amours. Both he and his wife had conceived against their son Frederick a violent and implacable antipathy, and they, who owed at least to their subjects an example of good manners, did not hesitate to make them witnesses of the scandal of their family quarrels. The London *Daily Post* extracts the following

Handel gave, successively, *Semiramis* on the 30th of October, *Cajus Fabricius* on the 4th of December, and *Arbaces* on the 5th of January, 1734. Burney, in furnishing these dates, says that the names of the composers of these works are unknown, but that "in all probability they were old dramas adjusted to airs selected from the works of different masters;" and the acute Doctor was not deceived. The three scores are to be found in a complete state in Smith's collection. *Arbaces* is nothing but the *Artaxerxes* of Metastasio, under the name of one of the principal personages in that poem. These three MSS. are indeed very curious, and cast a new light on the proceedings of the master. All the airs, which are by authors whose names are not known, are in Smith's handwriting, and all the recitatives are in that of Handel. This appears to be clearly explicable in the following manner:—In spite of his prodigious fecundity, Handel could not satisfy the desire for novelty which was prevalent in his time; and not having, and perhaps not wishing for, a composer who could assist him, he selected some old poem, and employed Smith to arrange the airs with music of which the origin is no longer discoverable; and, for his part, he took the trouble to unite the whole with recitatives, which he could write very rapidly. If I am not mistaken, these pasticcios, which count for nothing in his works, should certainly add to the admiration which he inspires, for they increase the sum of work of all kinds which was accomplished by his indefatigable powers. The three operas in question were given for the *début* of an entirely new company, and it is probable that they included many airs which the artists had brought with them from Italy, as being more particularly favourable to the exhibition of their talents. Every singer has his favourite airs. *Arbaces* contains, perhaps, a great deal of the principal part of the *Artaserse* of Vinci, which Carestini had sung at Venice in 1730.

announcement from the *London Gazette* of the 27th of February, 1728:—"His Majesty having been informed that due regard has not been paid to his order of the 11th of September, 1737, has thought fit to declare that no person whatever, who shall go to pay their court to their Royal Highnesses the Prince or Princess of Wales, shall be admitted into his Majesty's presence at any of his royal palaces.—Grafton."

On the 26th of January, 1734, he more directly accepted the challenge of the nobles with another *Ariadne*, of his own composition. This similarity of name appears to have been fortuitous. Handel's MS. is dated on the 5th of October, two months and a half before the representation of Porpora's *Ariadne*. At that time, people did not hesitate to make use of subjects, and even also of poems, which had been treated by others. Many of the lyrical dramas of Metastasio (notably *Cyrus*) have been set to music by five or six composers, all cotemporaries of each other.

According to Hawkins, *Ariadne* "is of a not very elevated style, and is calculated to please the vulgar. Handel said that he wrote it in order to recover the favour of the nobility, whom he was sensible he had displeased in some of his most elaborate compositions." The stroke is cruel, but Burney does not admit that the composer succeeded in what he aimed at; he declares, on the contrary, that, in the midst of a similar crisis, Handel seems to have developed all his faculties in the new opera with greater vigour than ever.

The minuet in *Ariadne* became very popular. Burney says:—"It must have had a very striking effect in the theatre, as it was not played as a part of the overture, but, after the curtain was drawn up, as a symphony to the first scene, where Minos receives the tribute of Athenian youths and virgins. It being first played *piano*, without wind instruments, and afterwards *forte*, with french-horns and hautbois, surprised and pleased the audience in an uncommon manner at that time."

In Bickman's *Musical Entertainer* we find "The Submissive Admirer—'How is it possible?' Set by Mr. Handel." This is merely a song set to the minuet. We find again, "How is it possible? set by Mr. Handel," in *Universal Harmony*, 1745.

By a very singular coincidence, the two *Ariadnes* had nineteen representations apiece. That by Handel was printed in its entirety, but only the "favourite songs" of Porpora's opera have been engraved.

Whilst the rivals were engaged in the struggle, jokers turned

it into ridicule. Amongst the book advertisements of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1733, the following may be found:—"*Do you know what you are about?* or, a Protestant Alarm to Great Britain, proving our late theatric squabble to be a type of the present contest for the Crown, and that the division between Handel and Senesino has more in it than we imagine. Also, that the latter is no Eunuch, but a Jesuit in disguise. Price 6*d*."

Jests were very abundant. The *London Magazine* for January, 1734, publishes "A Treaty of Peace," which is more lengthy than amusing, the thirteenth clause of which is as follows:—"Article 13. The most high and puissant John Frederick Handel, Prince Palatine of the Haymarket; the most sublime John James Heidegger, Count of the Most Sacred and Holy Roman Empire; and the Most Noble and Illustrious Signor Senesino, little Duke of Tuscany, do engage for themselves, their heirs, and successors, to become guarantees for the due performance and execution of all, every and singular the articles of this present treaty. Done in the Camp in New Palace Yard, before Westminster Hall, this 28th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1733." Such pieces of witticism were much admired, but it is obvious that they were not always very good. Those which have a refined wit, and whose style is sufficiently elegant to render them tolerable, are rare. The Addisons, the Arbuthnots, the Voltaires, and the Montesquieus do not abound. After all, Handel could not have been very much annoyed at these blunted pin-pricks; and he had, besides, the conscience of having right on his side.

After *Ariadne*, he produced the serenata of *Parnasso in Festa*, an allegorical piece, brought out for the celebration of the marriage of the Princess Anne of England to the deformed Prince of Orange. The *Daily Journal* of Monday, the 11th of March, 1734, announces:—"On Wednesday, 13th instant, will be performed *Parnasso in Festa*, or Apollo and the Muses celebrating the Marriage of Thetis and Peleus; a serenata. Being an essay of several different sorts of harmony. To begin at six o'clock."

Besides this advertisement, the same number of the *Daily Journal* contains the following paragraph:—

"We hear, amongst other publick diversions that are prepared for the solemnity of the approaching nuptials, there is to be performed at the Opera House in the Haymarket, on Wednesday next, a serenata called *Parnasso in Festa*. The fable is Apollo and the Muses celebrating the Marriage of Thetis and Peleus. There is one standing scene, which is Mount Parnassus, on which sit Apollo and the Muses, assisted with other *proper* [meaning appropriate] characters emblematically dressed, the whole appearance being extremely magnificent. The musick is no less entertaining, being contrived with so great a variety, that all sorts of musick are properly introduced in single songs, duettoes, &c., intermixed with choruses, somewhat in the style of oratorios. People have been waiting with impatience for this piece, the celebrated Mr. Handel having exerted his utmost skill in it."

This has all the peculiar symptoms of "*the puff*;" and to have reduced Handel to that, is an additional reproach against the enemies who were leagued against him. On the following day, the 14th of March, the *Daily Courant* informs us that—"Yesterday evening, their Majesties, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with the rest of the Royal Family, and his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, went to the theatre in the Haymarket, and saw a serenata called *Parnasso in Festa*, or Apollo and the Muses celebrating the Marriage of Thetis and Peleus." But we do not find a single word to inform us of what his imperishable majesty the public thought of this "essay of several different sorts of harmony."

In point of fact, the serenata *de circonstance* was composed like all *pièces de circonstance*. Thirteen of the airs and songs only are new:[1] the rest are borrowed from *Athalia*, which had only then been performed twice at Oxford. Burney, who made a comparative analysis of the two works, says:—"The Italian words are adjusted to the music with such intelligence and attention to the accent and expression, that if we were not

[1] See "Catalogue," 1734.

acquainted with the new and particular occasion on which *Parnasso* was prepared, it would be difficult to discover whether the music was originally composed for that serenata or for *Athalia*."

The author afterwards introduced into *Athalia* many of the novelties belonging to this semi-pasticcio serenata.

Only one *Wedding Anthem* by Handel is known, that which was composed in 1736 for the marriage of the Prince of Wales; but he arranged another, which has never been mentioned, for the marriage of the Princess Anne. I have the MS. of this in the collection which belonged to Smith, and I subjoin the analysis, for which I am indebted to Mr. Rophino Lacy:—

Chorus: "This is the day;" made out of "The mighty power," in *Athalia*.

Air (bass): "Blessed is the man that hath a virtuous wife;" made out of "Gentle airs," in ditto.

Air (sop.): "A good wife is a good portion;" made out of "Thro' the land," in ditto.

Air (ten.): "Strength and honour are her clothing;" made out of "Circonda in lor vite," in *Parnasso*.

Recitative (bass): "As the sun,"
Air (bass): "Her children arise up,"
} from "Ah! Canst thou prove me," in *Athalia*.

Chorus: "We shall remember thy name. Allelujah, Amen." } from the last movement of the 7th *Chandos Anthem*.

This is truly an anthem for a wedding, where everything tends to the honour of the bride. The words of the *Wedding Anthem* of 1736, on the contrary, are chosen more in honour of the husband:—"Thy wife shall be;" "Lo, thus shall the man be blessed;" &c.

It can be satisfactorily proved that this pasticcio anthem was really sung at the marriage for which Handel wrote *Parnasso in Festa*. The *Daily Post* of the 19th of October, 1733, announces:—"We hear a fine anthem, composed by Dr. Greene for the nuptials of Frederick, Prince of Orange, and Anne, Princess Royal, is to be performed by Mr. Gates, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Rowe, and the children of the Chapel Royal at St. James."

The Prince of Orange arrived in England on the 6th of November, 1733; but, becoming seriously ill, his marriage, which had been fixed for the 12th of November, was put off until the month of March, 1734.

It may be that the Princess, who always showed a great partiality for Handel, preferred to have anything by him rather than the work of Greene, the official composer to the Chapel Royal. But whether this was so or not, the following paragraph in the *London Magazine* for March, 1734, proves that it was her favourite's music that was sung at her marriage:—"After the organ had played some time, His Highness the Prince of Orange led the Princess Royal to the rails of the altar and kneeled down, and then the Lord Bishop of London perform'd the service; after which the bride and bridegroom arose and retired to their places, whilst a fine anthem, composed by Mr. Handell, was performed by a great number of voices and instruments."

It is impossible to doubt that this "fine Anthem, composed by Mr. Handell," was that of which the MS. is in my possession. Unhappily, as has been shown, it contains nothing new; everything is taken from the two works which were then under his hand, *Athalia* and *Parnasso*. It seems to have been very hastily written. The music is in the handwriting of Smith, and all the words in that of the master, who reserved to himself the application of them to the *morceaux* which he had pointed out to his secretary. Nevertheless, his own notation may be recognized in many places, where the new words required some alteration. This *Anthem* has no place among the works of the master, being a mere pasticcio; but the MS. is not without a very great interest, not only as being a long autograph by him, but as throwing a light upon the article in the *London Magazine*.

In the midst of the painful circumstances which surrounded him, Handel displayed indomitable energy and activity. Even from among the dry bones of the advertising columns we may pick up living proofs of his efforts. After *Ariadne*, on the 26th of January, 1734, and *Parnasso in Festa*, on the 13th of March, came the revivals of *Deborah*, on the 2nd and 9th of April; of *Sosarme*, on the 27th of April; of *Acis*, on the 6th of

May; and on the 4th of June, of *Pastor Fido*, completely rearranged. The *Daily Journal* of the 1st of June, 1734, announces:—"On Thursday, the 4th of June, at the King's Theatre, in the Haymarket, will be performed an opera called *Pastor Fido*, composed by Mr. Handell, intermixed with choruses. The scenery after a particular manner." *The scenery after a particular manner.* Poor Handel!

The book of *Pastor Fido*, as produced in the Haymarket in 1734, is inscribed "Second Edition, with large Additions." An analysis of the rearrangement will be found in the "Catalogue." It was repeated eight times, between the 4th and the 29th of June, which was the last performance of the season. Vide *Daily Journal* for the 29th of June:—"*Pastor Fido*, last time of performing."

It was in 1734 also that he brought out the celebrated *Hautbois Concertos*, Opera 3ª, which had been previously written at different epochs. These were great compositions for two violins, two hautboys, two flutes, two viols, two bassoons, two violoncellos, and a thorough bass. They might be called symphonies. A certain prominence which is given to the hautboy, is the cause of the too modest title which disguises their importance. The hautboy was one of Handel's favourite instruments. Every author speaks of these compositions of instrumental music as masterpieces. The second and the fourth, which are more especially renowned, were performed at the commemoration of 1784. The Society for the Concerts of Ancient Music constantly revived them. Burney says that, on the 20th of June, 1716, *Amadis* was performed "for the benefit of the Instrumental Music" [orchestra], and that "it was perhaps on this occasion that Handel composed his admirable Fourth *Hautboy Concerto*, for a long time known under the name of the *Orchestra Concerto*." That the conjecture of the astute Doctor is perfectly just, there are two proofs; in the first place, the advertisement of the performance, which is thus expressed—"to which will be added two new symphonies;" and, in the next place, in the collection of "Overtures for Concerts," published by Walsh (in which there are two overtures to *Amadigi*), the second is a

reproduction of the Fourth *Hautboy Concerto,* which, on that account, is also called "the Second *Overture in Amadigi.*"

Let me record it once that, the following year (1735),[1] the *Six Fugues or Voluntaries for Organ or Harpsichord* appeared. In that kind of composition Handel had no rival but Bach.

The partnership which he had entered into with Heidegger, who was principal lessee of the Haymarket Theatre, came to an end with the season of 1734. Heidegger immediately gave up the theatre to the rival Italian company of Lincoln's Inn Fields. His partner had, therefore, a good opportunity of retreating from the contest without the least appearance of giving way. He might have retired to his tent to enjoy the £600 which he annually received in the way of pensions, and which were always regularly paid. But he would not do so. To oppose himself to an omnipotent class of society which had Farinelli with it was bold; but with men of Handel's stamp, the stronger the enemy is, the less they are inclined to give way. He took the deserted theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and alone, without assistance and at his own risk, he became an impressario.

. . . . "Faites ouvrir le camp
Je suis ce téméraire ou plutôt ce vaillant."—*Le Cid.*

When the nobility saw him assume this attitude, they became still more vehemently irritated against him; the few friends who had remained on his side abandoned him; the spirit of their order became mixed up in the matter, and between that order and him, therefore, there was open war. Whoever refused to renounce him had no hope of any favour from the aristocracy, and as it became fashionable to despise Mr. Handel, every upstart took care to do so. Fielding refers to this foolish mania in *Tom Jones*:—"It was Mr. Western's custom every afternoon, as soon as he was drunk, to hear his daughter play on the harpsichord, for he was a great lover of music, and perhaps, had he lived in town, might have passed for a connoisseur, for he always excepted against the finest compositions of Mr. Handel."[2]

But at this juncture the witty Arbuthnot fought vigorously

[1] See "Catalogue of Works". [2] Quoted by Mr. Townsend.

the battle of his friend. On the 12th of February, 1734, two months after the opening of the theatre patronized by the nobility, and without dreading their displeasure, he published a satire, entitled "*Harmony in an Uproar;* a Letter to Frederick Handel, Esq., Master of the Opera-house in the Haymarket, from Hurlothrumbo Johnson, Esq., Composer Extraordinary to all the Theatres in Great Britain, excepting that of the Haymarket, in which the rights and merits of both O——s [operas] are properly considered."[1]

The satirist declares to the great composer:—"You must know then, Sir, that I have been told, and made to understand by your betters, Sir, that of late you have been . . . *insolent, audacious, impudent,* and *saucy,* and a thousand things else, Sir (that don't become you), worse than all that."

He then advises him:—"Go then, thou mistaken mortal, prostrate thyself before these Grand Signiors; yield to their most unreasonable demands; let them spurn and buffet thee; talk not foolishly of merit, justice, or honour, and they may prove so gracious as to let thee live and starve."

He then goes on to inform him that he is "called upon in this solemn manner, before an unbiased judge, and the most honourable, impartial, numerous grand jury that ever appeared upon any trial. I hope you will behave like a gentleman, own yourself guilty at once, and save us a great deal of time and trouble." Handel is then summoned to appear, and is put upon his trial:—

"*Court.*—Frederic Handel, hold up your hand. Know, you are brought to answer to the several following high crimes and misdemeanors committed upon the wills and understandings, and against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the Mobility of Great Britain, particularly this metropolis. *Imprimis*—You are charged with having bewitched us for the space of twenty years past. *Secondly*—You have most insolently dared to give us good musick and harmony, when we wanted and desired bad. *Thirdly*—You have most feloniously and arrogantly assumed to yourself an uncontrolled property of pleasing us, whether we

[1] *Miscellaneous Works of Arbuthnot.* 2 vols.

would or no; and have often been so bold as to charm us when we were positively resolved to be out of humour. How say you, Sir, are you guilty to the said charge or no?"

"*Prisoner.*—Guilty of the whole charge.

"*Clerk of the Court.*—Frederic Handel, look full at the Court, and make three bows.

"*Court.*—Sirrah—Demme, we say—Sirrah! what has your stupidity to offer in your defence, that sentence of annihilation should not be immediately pronounced against you for daring to oppose our mighty wills and pleasures.—Well said us!

"*Prisoner.*—Most noble noble, right honourable, and superlatively excellent—

"*Court.*—Go on, scoundrel.

"*Prisoner.*—I am almost confounded at being thus arraigned before so august an assembly of the wisest heads of the nation; and to appear as a criminal, where, though I am guilty of the charge, I am innocent of any crime, as ignorant of any real accusation. Wherein have I offended?

"*Court.*—Why, you saucy . . . . . do you pretend to impeach the honour, sense, or power of the Court? Wherein have you offended? Unparallell'd audaciousness! when we have said you have offended. Scoundrel! you're as impudent as a red-hot poker, which is enough to put any face out of countenance. But, sirrah, if you are not guilty by law, we'll prove it logically. No man is brought to this bar, but who is guilty. You are brought to this bar. Ergo: Do you understand a syllogism, rascal? No man at the Old Bailey ever had a fairer trial for his life; away with him, gaoler, to the condemned hole, till the warrant is signed.

"Now, Sir (continues Hurlothrombo), you may think this usage very severe; but to show you upon what a weak foundation you build your pretences to support an opera, I'll prove by twenty-five substantial reasons, that you are no more of a composer, nor know no more of musick than you do of algebra. First then, Sir, have you taken your degrees? Boh! ha, ha, ha! Are you a doctor, Sir? Ah, ah! A fine composer, indeed, and not a graduate. Fie, fie, you might as well pretend to be a

judge, without having been ever called to the bar; or pretend to be a bishop, and not a christian. Why Dr. Pushpin and Dr. Blue[1] laugh at you, and scorn to keep you company; and they have vowed to me, that it is scarcely possible to imagine how much better they composed after the commencement gown was thrown over their shoulders than before; it was as if a musical —— had laid hands upon them, and inspired them with the enthusiasm of harmony. Secondly, Sir, I understand you have never read Euclid, are a declared foe to all the proper modes, and forms, and tones of musick, and scorn to be subservient to, or tied up by rules genius cramped. Thirdly, Sir, it has been objected to you, I believe with some truth (for I never knew one man take your part in it), that you can no more dance a Cheshire horn-pipe than you can fly down a rope from Paul's Church; a composer, and not dance a Cheshire round! Incredible! But, as for my fifth reason, Sir, by G—d, you have made such musick as never man did before you, nor, I believe, never will be thought of again when you're gone . . . . Finally: It has been made manifest to the religious part of your audiences, that you have practised sorcery upon His Majesty's liege subjects.

"But to come a little nearer to the merits of the cause, and give you a wound where you think yourself most secure: 'your party very confidently, and with an air of wisdom, give out that you are all very much surprised that so weighty a part of the grand legislature should employ both their time and money so ill, as in setting up one opera-house to ruin another, without ever giving the appearance of a formal reason for acting so; when their precious hours and vast parts might, at this critical juncture, be of infinite service to their country, when we are almost at a loss how to behave.'

"Mighty pretty, truly—how charmingly wise and sententious! Notable speech-makers indeed! How murder will out! Does not this objection alone make good all that we have been disputing about these three hours? Is it not obvious that so many great men, mighty great men (who are so overloaded with the burthen of publick affairs, that all common necessaries of life are neglected

[1] Pepusch and Greene.

to attend that service), would ever have taken all this trouble about so . . . paltry a fellow as you? Had not your insolence arrived to such an unparalleled pitch of audaciousness, that it quite threatened the utter ruin of the nation, had they not timely stood in the gap made in our liberties and properties by your musick, the torrent, in another year or two, might have swept away—God knows what. But like true patriots, they interposed, and ventured lives and fortunes to save us. Nor is it these mighty men alone that would devour you, the whole musical world is united against you," &c.

This satire shows with what kind of opposition and what redoubtable enemies Handel was engaged; but nothing could quell his courage, and it was spiritedly that he entered into a new phase of existence, in which he alone was to support the brunt of the war.

"Moi seul; et c'est assez!"—*Tancrède.*

On the 5th of October, 1734, he opened the campaign in Lincoln's Inn Fields with revivals of *Ariadne* and *Pastor Fido*;[1] but not finding the house convenient, he took Covent Garden Theatre, which had been lately built; and by the beginning of the month of November he reproduced *Pastor Fido* there, which was this time preceded by an interlude. In the *Theatrical Register* we find:—"November 9th, 1734. Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. By his Majesty's command, on Saturday next, will be performed *Pastor Fido*, an opera with several additions, intermixed with choruses; which will be preceded by a new dramatick entertainment in musick, called *Terpsicore.*" A copy of the opera-book used at the performance, containing the opera and *Terpsichore*, under the name of *Prologo*, is in the British Museum. It is entitled, "Opera da Rappresentarsi nel Novo Reggio Teatro di Covent Garden." Burney is mistaken when he says[2] that the *Prologo* was given at the King's Theatre on the 18th of May.

The *Daily Journal* of the 21st of March, 1734, furnishes the programme of a performance at Covent Garden, for the benefit

[1] Burney. [2] Page 377.

of Madlle. Sallé, in which we find "'Les Charactères de l'Amour,' in which will be expressed the various passions of love, by Madlle. Sallé."

The success obtained by the French *danseuse*, at the English theatre, probably gave Handel the idea of making her repeat her "Charactères." *Terpsichore* (according to the analysis made of it by Mr. Lacy) is evidently a species of framework for such an entertainment. Apollo, addressing his *melodiosa germana*, Erato, explains to her that he has quitted Parnassus in order to see his "new Academy" (*novo Museo*), which is worthy of him, of her, and of Jupiter. This is enough to introduce a song on Jupiter, "Gran tonante," taken from *Parnasso in Festa*. Apollo afterwards asks Erato where her sister Terpsichore may be, and Erato replies that she cannot be far off. She then praises her "intelligent feet," and Terpsichore appears to a prelude taken from *Ptolemy*. They then engage her in a duet, "Col tuoi piedi," to join with their harmonies, to which the choreographic goddess replies by a saraband to the melody of the duet. Apollo then desires her to express "the transports of a lover who desires to obtain the object of his passion," which she does by a jig. Erato afterwards begs her to represent the hopes and fears of a heart wounded by love; and to give her an idea of what they wish, and probably also a little time to take breath, Erato and Apollo sing a second duet, "Tuoi passi son dardi," the music of which she takes in executing her pantomime. Besides this there is an air and a duet, followed by dances; and then the three divinities suddenly disappear in the midst of a final chorus.[1]

If a little tablet of white marble, which I have seen in the hut of Peter the Great at Saardam is to be believed, the Emperor Alexander said, when he visited the habitation of his ancestor, "Nothing is too small for a great man." But Handel had long ago proved the justice of this reflection, when he undertook to write a little ballet, intermixed with songs.

It is a part of *Terpsichore* that Arnold published under the title of *A Masque*. Without knowing what he was doing, he

[1] See "Catalogue of Works."

gave to the composition the name of the class to which it really belongs. The word "Masque" in England is equivalent to the French word "Intermède." In England, as in France, they were performed at the Court and at the houses of the rich. The dances were executed, not by professional artists, but by the guests. Even princes themselves took part in them. We are told that that voracious and sanguinary monarch Louis XIV., the King of the *dragonnades*, danced very gallantly.[1] The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries jumped about terribly. In reading the books and catalogues of music belonging to that epoch, we find dancing-airs and dancing-masters in every line; and what an immense variety of different steps! It must have been a very long, a very laborious, and a very fatiguing occupation to learn them all. Never surely did people give themselves so much trouble for amusement. The oddest thing was, that all these choreographic entertainments partake of a solemn and languorous character. Busby says that the Chaconne "is slow and graceful, graver than the Saraband, which it resembles." But the Saraband (says Busby again) was itself "expressive and majestic." What, therefore, must have been the gravity of the Chaconne, when it was graver than the majestic Saraband! Busby also informs us that the Musette was "of a tender character," and the Sicilienne "of a sweet and pastoral character;" and Mr. Lichtenthal says that the Passacaille was "a kind of Chaconne, with a moderated and rather melancholy movement." The Passacaille must have been a Spanish dance—*Passacalle*, danced by the people in the streets at the epoch of the Carnival; whence the name, "passing in the street." Judging by their titles, many other dances were of Spanish origin. The Saraband must be the Moorish Zarabanda of Andalusia. Every nation has its dances, and has imprinted upon them its own character. The impetuous Irish invented the Jig; the lively Italians the Saltarella, the Corante, and the Volante; and the French, with their disposition to go to extremes, have invented the Galop. But

[1] This reminds me of a very witty reply by Lully, the King's ballet-master. One day, as he was preparing an *intermède*, he was told that his Majesty was tired of waiting. "The King (said he) is the master, and so he may be as tired as he pleases."

(although Cicero has pretended that no man can dance without either being drunk or a fool) man is an animal so deplorably given to jumping, that every nation has reciprocally borrowed the choreographic inventions of every other.

Each of these dances had its own special music, the form of which sometimes found its way, with the name, into more serious compositions. Thus, we find a "Passacaille" among the seven *Sonatas* or *Trios* of Handel. There are several to be found in the operas of the formidable Gluck. Scarcely any of the overtures in the eighteenth century was without a Jig, and still fewer concertos for the harpsichord without an Allemande. The musicians of the sixteenth century wrote an infinite number of pavanes; and the pavane was nothing but a dance. According to J. J. Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de Musique*, it was so called "because the dancers made a sort of wheel, in looking at each other, as the peacocks do with their tails. To make the wheel the man would use his cape and his sword, which he wore in that dance; and it is by allusion to the vanity of that attitude that the reciprocal verb *se pavaner* (peacockify) was invented." Who does not deplore the loss of the peacock's dance?

After *Pastor Fido*, and the *Characters of Love*, expressed by Madlle. Sallé's feet, *Ariadne* reappeared, and was performed until the 18th of December, 1734; when it was replaced by an *Orestes*—a pure pasticcio, which Handel took out of his own works. The score, entirely written by his own hand, is in Smith's collection. Afterwards, he caused his *Ariodante* to be represented on the 8th of January, 1735, in which Madlle. Sallé figured in the final ballet.[1] *Ariodante* was performed twelve times.

[1] She returned to France in the following year. On her return to the Grand Opera, "an ingenious gentleman," says the *General Advertiser*, of the 10th of July, 1735, wrote an epigram upon her, the justice of which her reputation does not induce us to believe:—

"Mistress Sallé toujours errante,
Et qui partout vit mécontente,
Sourde encore du bruit des sifflets,
Le cœur gros, la bourse legère,
Reviens maudissant les Anglais,
Comme en partant pour l'Angleterre,
Elle maudissait les Français."

Rich, whilst he made room for Handel at Covent Garden, continued to direct it for his own profit, and derived some advantage from the extras which the great composer added to his entertainments. The *Daily Journal* for the 17th of April, 1735, advertises:—"At Covent Garden the play of Henry 4th, with entertainments of dancing. The Grecian Sailors, as it was performed in the opera of Orestes; and a grand ballet, called the Faithful Shepherd, as performed in the opera of Pastor Fido."

The company which the nobles were patronizing in the Haymarket, was then enjoying a great success with Hasse's masterpiece, *Artaxerxes*, which had been performed since the 27th of October, 1734.[1] Hasse, who had been sent for to London for the occasion, cried, "Then Handel is dead!" and refused to come when he heard that he was not. M. Fétis repeats, after Mainwaring, that he allowed himself to be tempted subsequently, and that he arrived in 1740, to superintend the production of *Artaxerxes*. This work, as we have just seen, was produced in 1734, and under the superintendence of Porpora. In 1740, both the rival theatres had died of inanition. Burney, who follows step by step the progress of the quarrel, and who often refers to Hasse, never mentions his arrival in England. Hawkins states that he resisted all the endeavours which were made to induce him to come, "not wishing to become a competitor with a man so greatly his superior." His *Artaxerxes* was sung by Farinelli, Montagnana, Senesino, and Signora Cuzzoni.

In the face of so formidable a coalition, and in the midst of the distracting occupation of managership, Handel, whilst producing during the whole of Lent, from the 5th of March to the 12th of April, fourteen performances of oratorios,[2] was still able to find both time and strength enough for composition. On the 16th of April, 1735, he was in a condition to reopen the theatrical season with *Alcina*, which was finished

[1] *Theatrical Register.*

[2] *Esther*, "an oratorio, in English, with several new additions, both vocal and instrumental; likewise two new concertos on the organ," on March 5th, 7th, 12th, 14th, 19th, and 21st.

Deborah, "with a new concerto on the organ; also the 1st concerto in the oratorio of *Esther*," on March 26th, 28th, and 31st.

Athalia, on April 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 9th, and 12th. (See *Daily Journal.*)

on the 8th of April, and contained thirty-two airs, one duet, and four little choruses. Moreover, at each performance he directed the orchestra in person; and at the performances of oratorios he played one, two, and sometimes even three concertos on the organ. Thus, the *Daily Journal* for the 1st of April announces —"*Athalia*, with a new concerto on theorgan; also the first concerto in the oratorio of *Esther*, and the last in *Deborah*." Besides all this, he had to provide the *reclames*, of which he seems to have understood the full effect. In the *Daily Journal* of the 3rd of April, 1735, we find:—"We hear that the youth (a new voice) who was introduced in the oratorio of *Athalia* last night, at the theatre royal in Covent Garden, met with universal applause." This *on dit*, very probably, came from no further than the managerial room at Covent Garden. But the puffs of Handel had none of that wonderful and comically boastful audacity which characterizes the puffs of the present day, inasmuch as they always preserved a little of the dignity of his character; but still it must be confessed that, in spite of all his pride, he had recourse, more than once, to that means of exciting curiosity. It may be urged in excuse, that the press of that day was entirely ignorant of art, and that we cannot find in any journal one single serious article upon any of his works.

Alcina, which is one of his most admired productions, was pretty well received, and brought the season to a close. A letter, written by Handel shortly afterwards, shows him on the point of setting out to take the Tunbridge waters, and with no fixed plan for the following season:—

"To Charles Jennens, Esq., Jun.

"London, July 28th, 1735.

"Sir,—I received your very agreeable letter with the inclosed oratorio.[1] I am just going to Tunbridge; yet what I

1 What can be the oratorio referred to? Between *Athalia*, in 1733, and *Saul*, in 1738, Handel did not write any. The author of the poem of *Saul* remains unknown to the present day. It may, however, have been Charles Jennens, who afterwards composed for Handel the words of *The Messiah*, of *Belshazzar*, and of *Il Moderato*, added to the *Allegro e Penseroso* of Milton.

could read of it in haste, gave me a great deal of satisfaction. I shall have more leisure time there to read it with all the attention it deserves. There is no certainty of any scheme for next season, but it is probable that something or other may be done, of which I shall take the liberty to give you notice, being extremely obliged to you for the generous concern you show upon this account. The opera of *Alcina* is a writing out, and shall be sent according to your direction. It is always a great pleasure to me if I have an opportunity to show the sincere respect with which I have the honour to be, Sir, &c., &c.,

"G. F. HANDEL."[1]

The state of uncertainty in which Handel remained, as to what he should do, was increased by the departure of Carestini, whom a previous engagement compelled to go to Venice. Carestini was the only man capable of counterbalancing the brilliancy of Farinelli's success at the rival theatre. Italian operas cannot dispense with a singer of the first rank; so Handel abandoned them for the moment, and in the month of January he resolved to treat the English subject of *Alexander's Feast*, which he improvised in three weeks. He gave it at Covent Garden Theatre, where it was sung by the artists of the theatre:—Beard, an English tenor; Erard, a basso; and Miss Young;[2] assisted by Sg^a. Strada, who was always faithful to the great composer.

It appears, by the *Poems of John Hughes*,[3] that, in the year 1711, Sir Richard Steele and Mr. Clayton had concerts of music in York Buildings, on which occasion they sent Mr. Hughes the following letter:—

"DEAR SIR,—Mr. Clayton and I desire you, as soon as you

[1] This letter, which is preserved by the present Lord Howe, a descendant of Charles Jennens, Esq., has been communicated to Dr. W. Horsley, who inserted it in the preface to his edition of *The Messiah*.

[2] Miss Cecilia Young, who became the wife of Dr. Arne in 1736, remained for many years among the artists of Handel. She had made her *début* at the re-opening of the little theatre in the Haymarket, on the 16th of November, 1732. (*Daily Post.*)

[3] Vol. i., page 17.

can conveniently, to alter this poem[1] for music, preserving as many of Dryden's words and verses as you can. It is to be performed by a voice well skilled in recitatives; but you understand all these matters much better than

"Your affectionate humble servant,

"R. STEELE."

Hughes did as he was requested; but a letter, subsequently addressed by him to Steele, informs us that Clayton's music was far from satisfying the connoisseurs. Handel then took his turn at what Clayton had failed in doing. Dryden's ode, *Alexander's Feast, or the Power of Music*, was divided for him into airs, recitatives, and choruses, by Newburg Hamilton, who thus expresses himself in the preface:—

"The following ode, being universally allowed to be the most excellent of its kind (at least in our language), all admirers of polite amusements have with impatience expected its appearing in a musical dress equal to the subject. But the late improvements in music varying so much from that turn of composition for which this poem was originally designed, most people despaired of ever seeing that affair properly accomplished. The alteration in the words (necessary to render them fit to receive modern composition) being thought scarcely practicable, without breaking in upon that flow of spirit which runs through the whole of the poem, which of consequence would be rendered flat and insipid. But upon a more particular review of the ode, these seeming difficulties vanished, though I was determined not to take any unwarrantable liberty with that poem, which has so long done honour to the nation, and which no man can add to or abridge in anything material, without injuring it. I therefore confined myself to a plain division of it into airs, recitatives, or choruses, looking upon the words in general so sacred as scarcely to violate one in the order of its first place. How I have succeeded, the world is to judge; and whether I have preserved that beautiful description of the passions so exquisitely drawn, at the same time I strove to reduce them to the present taste in sounds. I confess my principal view was not to lose

[1] *Alexander's Feast.*

this favourable opportunity of its being set to musick by that great master, who has with pleasure undertaken the task, and who only is capable of doing it justice; whose compositions have long shown that they can conquer even the most obstinate partiality, and inspire life into the most senseless words.

"If this entertainment can, in the least degree, give satisfaction to the real judges of poetry or musick, I shall think myself happy in having promoted it, being persuaded that it is next to an improbability to offer the world anything in those arts more perfect than the united labours and utmost efforts of a Dryden and a Handel."

Not content with this eulogium, Newburg Hamilton added to his preface these verses:—

"TO MR. HANDEL,

"On his Setting to Music Mr. Dryden's 'Feast of Alexander.'

"Let others charm the list'ning scaly brood,
Or tame the savage monsters of the wood;
With magic notes enchant the leafy grove,
Or force ev'n things inanimate to move:
Be ever your's (my friend), the god-like art,
To calm the passions, and improve the heart;
The tyrant's rage, and hell-born pride controul,
Or sweetly sooth to peace the mourning soul;
With martial warmth the hero's breast inspire,
Or fan new-kindling love to chaste desire.
That artist's hand (whose skill alone could move
To glory, grief, or joy, the son of Jove)
Not greater raptures to the Grecian gave,
Than British theatres from you receive;
That ignorance and envy vanquish'd see,
Heav'n made you rule the world by harmony.
Two glowing sparks of that celestial flame,
Which warms by mystick art this earthly frame,
United in one blaze of genial heat,
Produc'd this piece in sense and sounds complete;
The sister arts, as breathing from one soul,
With equal spirit animate the whole.
Had Dryden liv'd the welcome day to bless,
Which cloth'd his numbers in so fit a dress;
When his majestick poetry was crown'd,
With all your bright magnificence of sound;
How would his wonder and his transport rise,
Whilst fam'd Timotheus yields to you the prize."

I have heard *Alexander's Feast* but twice, but that is sufficient to make me a sharer in Hamilton's enthusiasm. Every-

thing is superb in that work, in which Handel once more displayed the sovereign power of his genius for choral combinations. It was performed on the 19th of February, 1736,[1] "after the manner of an oratorio," that is to say, without action. The public, if it may be said, had guessed that this was a masterpiece. The *London Daily Post* says:—"There never was, upon the like occasion, so numerous and splendid an audience at any theatre in London, there being at least thirteen hundred persons present; and it is judged that the receipts of the house could not amount to less than *four hundred and fifty pounds*. It met with general applause, though attended with the inconvenience of having the performers placed at too great a distance from the audience, which we hear will be rectified the next time of performance." Thirteen hundred spectators were, therefore, an exceptional audience at that time.

Alexander's Feast, with *Esther* and *Acis*, just managed to support the season, but that was all; they could neither redeem the losses of the past, nor stay the ruin which was coming on. In spite of its great success, *Alexander's Feast* was only published in 1738,[2] two years after its first representation. It is difficult to understand the reason of this extraordinary delay, since all Handel's compositions were, at that time, printed almost immediately by Walsh. The edition was brought out by subscription, and contains a list of a hundred and fifty subscribers, among whom we find the Princess of Orange, her four sisters, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Cumberland. Charles Jennens's name is down for six copies; the Countess of Chesterfield, for five; Richard Freeman, for five; the Countess of Pembroke, for five; and the Philharmonic Society, for five. The price was a guinea. Handel, therefore, gained by this subscription nearly two hundred guineas. This volume, which is printed upon large paper, has the exceptional peculiarity of containing all the recitatives and all the choruses.

The magnificent poem of *Alexander's Feast*, which has

[1] See *London Daily Post*. Hawkins is, therefore, in error when he places this composition after the illness which compelled Handel to take the waters at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was in 1737.

[2] See "Catalogue."

never been excelled since the time when Hamilton placed it above every composition of the same kind, is the second of Dryden's two *Odes on St. Cecilia's Day*. Poets generally expose their vanity with less reserve than other men. If the *Biographia Dramatica* is to be believed, Dryden was as much a poet in this respect as it was possible to be:—"A late learned judge in his youth frequented Wills' Coffee-house, and occasionally entered into conversation with the old bard. Soon after the first appearance of *Alexander's Feast*, he congratulated the author on his having produced an ode which the whole town considered as the best composition of that kind that had ever been written. 'Why, it is so (said Dryden); and I will tell you further, young man, it is the best ode that ever will be written.'"

Mr. Derrick, in his *Life of Dryden*,[1] says, on the authority of Boyle, that the poet received forty pounds from a musical society for the use of this *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day!*

St. Cecilia has been chosen as the patroness of musicians on account of the tradition that she was the first saint who accompanied herself by instrumental music whilst singing her prayers. The authenticity of her martyrdom, which is stated to have taken place on the 22nd of November, A.D. 300 or 320, is disputed by the best critics.[2] Raphael represents her at the organ, Dominicino playing the violoncello, and Mignard touching the harp. If they are all to be believed, her musical talents must have been less doubtful than her martyrdom.

Although *Esther*, *Acis*, and *Alexander's Feast* (all English works) were more fortunate than any of his operas, the indefatigable composer-manager of Covent Garden thought that it was always indispensable to have an Italian company. He therefore set at once about bringing one together again, and he took care to keep the public informed with respect to his movements. In the journals of the 13th of April, 1736, we find it advertised:—"We hear that Sig^r. Conti, who is regarded as the best singer in Italy, and whom Mr. Handel is bringing over, is expected in a few days." He made his *début* on the 12th of May in *Atalanta*, which formed part of festivities given on the

[1] *Dryden's Works*; Moxon's edition. [2] Fétis.

occasion of the marriage of Frederick Prince of Wales with a Princess of the house of Saxe-Gotha.

The *Daily Post* says of this *pièce de circonstance*, that there "was a new set of scenes painted in honour of the happy union, which took up the full length of the stage; the fore part of the scene represented an avenue to the temple of hymen, adorned with statues of heathen deities. Next was a triumphal arch, on the summit of which were the arms of their Royal Highnesses. Under the arch was the figure of Fame on a cloud, sounding the praises of this happy pair. The names Fredericus and Augusta appeared above, in transparent characters. The opera concluded with a grand chorus, during which several beautiful illuminations were displayed. There were present, their Majesties, the Duke, and the four Princesses, accompanied with a very splendid audience, and the whole was received with universal acclamations." Malcolm adds:—"Through the arch appeared the façade of a temple, consisting of four columns and a pediment, on which two cupids were represented, embracing, and supporting the coronet and feathers of the principality of Wales; the temple of hymen closed the brilliant scene."

In spite of the addition of "two cupids," we do not think that such small matters would gain much applause in these days.

The Princess, in whose honour these beautiful decorations were made, had a humility which was really worthy of the early Christians. From Greenwich, where she had arrived on Sunday, the 25th of April, she came to London on Tuesday, the 27th. The Prince went to meet her at the gate of the garden at St. James's, and "upon her sinking on her knee to kiss his hand," he raised her affectionately, kissed her twice, and conducted her to the apartments of the King and Queen, "where, presented to the King, her Highness fell on her knee to kiss his hand, but was gently taken up and saluted by him."[1] It would not now be easy to find a servant so ready as "her Highness," to fall upon her knees, or having less repugnance to kissing the hands of men. We are told afterwards that "his Majesty did his Royal Highness the honour to put on his shirt, and that the bride,

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1736.

being in bed in a rich undress, his Majesty came into the room, and the Prince following soon after, in a night-gown of silver stuff and cap of the finest lace, the quality were admitted to see the bride and bridegroom sitting up in the bed." After all, it is only the persons who live in courts who can invent ceremonials of such extreme modesty and delicacy.

Handel had written for the religious ceremony an anthem, which was performed in the Chapel Royal of St. James's on the 27th of April, 1736, and which is called, after the circumstance which gave rise to its composition, the *Wedding Anthem*. It is generally considered to be a work worthy of its author, although, perhaps, rather light in style for an anthem—even for a wedding anthem.

Atalanta was revived on the 26th of the following November, in honour of the anniversary of the Princess's birthday; and "several fine devices in fireworks, proper to the occasion," were exhibited. If we may believe the *London Daily Post* of the 11th of July, 1741, Handel intermingled an accompaniment with these "devices in fireworks;" and the fact was still remembered five years afterwards:—"We hear that at Cuper's Gardens last night, among several pieces of musick, Mr. Handel's *Fire Music*, with the fireworks as *originally performed in the opera of Atalanta*, was received with great applause by a numerous audience."

I cannot discover what the *Fire Music* here referred to may be. There is no trace of it in the MSS., and, at all events, it must not be confounded with the *Fireworks Music* which Handel composed in 1749. Cuper's Gardens were doubtless established in imitation of the gardens at Vauxhall and Marylebone.

On the 12th of January, 1737, *Arminius* appeared, which was dedicated, by Heidegger, the author of the words, to Lady Godolphin, the daughter of Marlborough.[1] But the name of this great lady could not protect *Arminius*, which was withdrawn after five representations. It was, nevertheless, published by subscription, as *Atalanta* had been. The number of subscribers to the one was one hundred and eighty, and to the other

[1] *Companion to the Playhouse*, 1764.

one hundred and fifty. Burney does not confess, without difficulty, that *Arminius* had "few captivating airs."

Justin or *Giustino* took its place, but without filling it with any greater success, for it also had only five representations, in spite of a plaintive unaccompanied air with a double echo, which remained in favour. "Upon the whole," says Burney, "this opera, so seldom acted and so little known, seems to me one of the most agreeable of Handel's dramatic productions." He particularly praises "an animated and descriptive symphony, which Handel played while Justin engaged and slew a sea-monster." Our fathers seem to have had, for a long time, a taste for these combats. Addison was indignant at seeing Nicolini fighting with the Dragon for the Golden Fleece. In 1792, Burgh[1] saw an opera at Venice, *La Sacrificia di Crete*, in which the singer David sang a bravura air whilst exterminating the Minotaur, and as the air was always encored, the Minotaur got up again, renewed the combat, and died a second time. In *Justin* there was no lack of bears, fantastic animals, and dragons vomiting fire. All this was ridiculed by Carey in *The Dragon of Wantley*, a parody set to music by Lampe, "after the Italian fashion."

In the beginning of 1737, Handel announced that during Lent the days of representation would be Wednesdays and Fridays; but he was obliged to relinquish that plan, for on Friday, March 11th, the editor of the *London Daily Post* says:—"We hear, since operas have been forbidden being performed at the theatre in Covent Garden on the Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, Mr. Handel is preparing Dryden's ode of *Alexander's Feast*, the oratorios of *Esther* and *Deborah*, with several new concertos for the organ and other instruments; also an entertainment of music, called *Il Trionfo del Tempo e della Verità*, which performances will be brought on the stage and varied every week."

Again we have to admire the energy of that mind which never gave way for an instant. *Arminius*, represented on the 12th of January, 1737, fails; he produces *Justin* on the 16th of February, and *Justin* fails; on the 9th and the 18th of March he

[1] *Anecdotes of Music.*

revives *Parnasso in Festa* and *Alexander's Feast*. *Alexander's Feast* alone would, in these days, have run for a year; but the public had already heard it some twelve or fifteen times, and would hear it no more. Then, on the 23rd of March, he revived his Italian oratorio of 1708, *Il Trionfo del Tempo*. Yet even that was of no use, for the public remained entirely indifferent. When Lent was finished, he gave *Dido*, on the 13th of April, the author of which is not known; but the Carthagenian Queen found the public as indifferent to her as Æneas was. Finally, on the 18th of May, he produced *Berenice*, "which (says Burney), in spite of its excellence, could not go beyond four representations."

Handel was present in person at all these successive defeats, for he presided every evening over the organ or the harpsichord. The fall of *Berenice*, following so many other failures, was the death-blow. He had exhausted all his resources—he had spent the last penny of the £10,000 which he had possessed—he had contracted debts—he could go no further—he was obliged to confess himself vanquished, to close his theatre, and (what was more grievous to so honest a man) to suspend his payments.[1]

But the fallen giant had at least the consolation of seeing his enemies wounded to the death. General indifference compelled them also to quit the field of battle. In the month of September of the same year (1737), they paid up their accounts, having sustained a loss of £12,000.[2] Farinelli, disgusted at having to sing to empty houses, had quitted England "*à la sourdine*" (secretly), according to the French expression made use of by Burney. Porpora and Senesino were not slow to follow him.

How limited must the taste for music have been, when two theatres—for one of which Handel composed, whilst Farinelli, Senesino, and Sg^a. Cuzzoni sang in the other—died of inanition! Yet, Farinelli had excited immense enthusiasm. His first engagement, in the year 1734, was at the rate of fifteeen hundred guineas, and a benefit, for fifty perform-

[1] Burney, page 25 of *Commemoration*. [2] Malcolm.

ances. His benefit had brought him two thousand guineas,[1] including presents—from the Prince of Wales, two hundred guineas; from the Spanish Ambassador, one hundred; from the Imperial Ambassador, fifty; from the Duke of Leeds, Lord Burlington, and the Duke of Richmond, fifty guineas each; Colonel Paget, thirty; and Lady Rich, twenty. The Prince of Wales afterwards bestowed on him the never-failing snuff-box, "enriched," &c., and containing a pair of diamond shoe-buckles, and a purse with one hundred guineas.

On the 14th of February, 1736 (according to the *Gentleman's Magazine*), "a young lady, being sued by a gentleman in a court of equity for refusing to perform a marriage promise to him, pleaded she had good reason to alter her mind, upon hearing him declaring himself no *admirer of Farinelli*, and disapprove of balls, masquerades, and late hours; adding, she doubted not but the court would think she had a fortunate escape." This was, perhaps, intended for a joke; but it proves the fanaticism of the public in Farinelli's favour.

This took place in 1736, and in 1737 the great singer left England rather than appear before an audience of which the receipts were only thirty-five pounds! Colley Cibber says:[2]—"The truth is, that this kind of entertainment being so entirely sensual, it had no possibility of getting the better of our reason but by its novelty; and that novelty could never be supported but by an annual change of the best voices, which, like the finest flowers, bloom but for a season; and when that is over, are only dead nosegays. From this natural cause, we have seen within these two years, even Farinelli singing to an audience of five-and-thirty pounds."

With a public so artistically ignorant as to grow tired of the most beautiful works in a few days, it may be imagined how much not only of genius, but also moral courage and strength of will Handel required to undertake its musical education, and to cure it of the insatiable craving for novelty which was caused by that ignorance.

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1735.

[2] *An Apology for the Life*, &c., page 342.

The vexation of becoming a bankrupt was a little sweetened by the confidence which his well-known and perfect integrity inspired. Every artist to whom he owed anything, with the exception of Del Po, in his marital right over Sg^a. Strada, accepted, without hesitation, his bills, which were scrupulously honoured at a later period. On the other hand, they could afford to wait; for, although they did not then receive such enormous salaries as they do now, they were already remunerated at a very high rate. It has been seen that Senesino received fourteen hundred guineas; Farinelli, fifteen hundred; Sg^a. Cuzzoni, two thousand, besides a benefit every season. It was very much the same at even a more remote period. Doni, in his treatise, *De Præstantiâ Musicæ veteris* (published in 1647), says that some of the singers "are hired at great rates."[1] Great complaints have been made about this. It seems scandalous that an interpreting artist should receive £4000 for the labour of six or eight months. But, nevertheless, one thing should be observed, they only receive these sums because they are the means of gaining greater ones. Place the name of a favourite upon the bill, and the house is full; remove it, and it is empty, whether it be *Don Juan* or *Fidelio* which is announced. A score, much more than either a tragedy or a comedy, requires to be well performed; and even the more beautiful it is, the less pleasure does it give to listen to it when badly executed. In that case, it becomes painful to listen. The art of singing has immense and innumerable difficulties. Those disagreeable persons who murder a piece of music in a drawing-room, have no idea that ten years of practice would scarcely enable them to sing it properly. It is not sufficient for the interpreter of composers to have the natural gift of a fine voice, but he requires the most careful study before he understands how to use it, and constant toil, and the most laborious care, to preserve and keep it in perfection. Baillot and Paganini might go and take a walk whenever they felt so disposed; but Garcia and Rubini, never. The singers are slaves to their voices, than which nothing can be more delicate, or more susceptible. The slightest

[1] Burney.

accident, a cold, a draught of air, or an attack of illness may deteriorate or destroy them: and when that is the case, what is left? Whatever their talent may be, it is henceforth of no avail. And then, again, consider the shortness of their career. As artists they die young, though, as individuals, they may live to be full of years. I have no desire to excuse the exacting and capricious disposition with which theatrical artists are generally reproached, and which they adduce against themselves in performing *Les Comédiens* of Casimir Delavigne, and *La Prova d'un' Opera Seria;* but is not what they gain in proportion to the services which they render? I have often heard it said, "What a scandalous thing that a mere singer should receive more than a general who has served his country for twenty years!" But this has always seemed to me to be illogical and absurd. Generals and officers do not serve their country either more or less than any other species of government official. They do not go either to the field or to the barrack for nothing. They receive a salary which they take every possible opportunity of augmenting. Their country is quits with them when it pays them, just as a company is quits with the engineer whom it has hired, or a manufacturer of mirrors with the workman whom he employs—an occupation (be it parenthetically observed) which is much more dangerous than that of a soldier. Besides, if you ask the best general upon earth to sing the finest opera in the world, he will not bring one halfpenny into the treasury of the theatre. The question lies entirely in this. There are many very clever artists who would be glad to be assured of as good a pension as is allotted to even the most incompetent general. In fact, it is only very great reputations that are very highly paid; and it does not appear that the best painters, and the best writers, gain less by their talent than the best singers. In the exercise of the arts particularly, every exceptional superiority amounts to genius, and should be proportionately respected. In these days, after all, with the excellent system of assuring to authors their rights, the wealth of the greatest interpreters no longer insults the poverty of the greatest creators. Rossini's chateau at Boulogne is as beautiful as Lablache's house at Pausillippe.

And, to console the moderns, let it be observed that the ancients made even more extravagant sacrifices in favour of musicians than we do. Amœbœus, a celebrated lute-player of Athens, never took less than an Attic talent (about £270 sterling), to play anywhere.[1]

[1] *Traité des Cytharedes*, quoted by Fétis.

CHAPTER VII.

1737—1741.

Illness—Failure of New Operas—"Funeral Anthem"—Statue Erected to Handel during his Life—All the Great Intelligences of the Age pronounce in his Favour—"Organ Concertos"—"Saul"—"Israel in Egypt"—Imitative Music—English Odes and Serenatas—Unfortunate Return to Italian Music—The Italian Opera in England.

The struggle to which Handel had succumbed, not only ruined him, but so much agitation and such excessive labour had undermined his iron constitution. The journals mention his indisposition as early as the month of April, 1737. In the *London Daily Post* for the 30th of April, we find:—"Mr. Handel, who has been some time indisposed with the rheumatism, is in so fair a way of recovery, that it is hoped he will be able to accompany the opera of *Justin* on Wednesday next, the 4th of May." In this state of health, the difficulties of managership, which exposed a man so full of honour and pride to the regrets and humiliations of an insolvent debtor, affected him to such a degree that his mental faculties were temporarily disturbed.[1] At the same time, he had an attack of paralysis, and he was with the greatest difficulty persuaded to go to the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was restored in less than six weeks. So prompt was his cure, that the Catholics of the place attributed it to a miracle, forgetting for a moment, that their Providence could scarcely be expected to work a miracle in favour of a patient so decidedly heretical; for Handel was a Lutheran. On the 28th of October, 1737, the *London Daily Post* informs the public, that "Mr. Handel the composer of Italian music,"

[1] Mainwaring, page 120.

was "hourly expected from Aix;" and on the 7th of November, his return is mentioned "greatly recovered in health."

In spite of the failure of different operatic enterprises, some speculator is always to be found who hopes to be more fortunate or more able than his predecessors. The convalescent found the Haymarket reopened under the direction of Heidegger the younger, who requested him to write something. He had debts to pay, and scarcely gave himself time to take breath. He returned on the 7th of November, and on the 15th he commenced *Faramondo;* but Queen Caroline, the wife of George II., died on the 20th, and the king desired him to write an anthem for the funeral. This he did, and he finished the opera by the 24th of December! This is incredible, but it is perfectly true.

Hawkins says:[1]—"It was on a Wednesday that he received orders from the King to compose it. On the Saturday se'nnight after, it was rehearsed in the morning; and on the evening of the some day it was performed at the solemnity in the Chapel of King Henry VII."

The end of the second act of *Faramondo* is dated on Sunday, the 4th of December; the following Wednesday was the 7th, and the anthem is signed on the 12th. This score, which does not occupy less than eighty pages of printing, was therefore written in less than five days! And it is really a sublime work; enough so to make us deplore the fact that it is never performed. Grandeur of composition, profundity of expression, beauty of harmony and of melody, are all to be found in it, to the same degree as in the admirable *Requiem* of Mozart. It is a remarkable fact that the pathetic movement of the third verse of this anthem, "When the ear heard her," is (according to Mr. Lacy) that of the gavot in the second overture of *Pastor Fido*, easily recognizable when played quickly. Without paying attention, it is scarcely credible how completely the simple change of time may alter entirely the character of an air. The moving cavatina in *Tancredi*, "Di tanti palpiti," is nothing but an old French tune with a slackened movement.

All that Hawkins says upon the subject of the *Funeral*

[1] Page 913.

Anthem is perfectly exact. The ceremony took place on the 17th of December:[1]—"Saturday se'nnight" after Wednesday the 7th, brings us clearly to the 17th. The MS. having been delivered on the 12th, it appears that five days only were required for copying, rehearsing, and performing this work. From this, it is evident that England possessed, as early as 1737, very large resources for musical execution; for this anthem was executed by not less than one hundred and eighty performers.

The *Daily Post*, in giving an account of the artistic part of the funeral ceremony, which it did not usually do, says:—"The fine anthem of Mr. Handel's was performed about nine; the vocal parts were performed by the several choirs of the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey, St. Paul, and Windsor, and the boys of the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey; and several musical gentlemen of distinction attended in surplices, and sung in the burial service. There were near 80 *vocal* performers and 100 *instrumental*, from His Majesty's band and from the Opera, &c."

George the Second owed a splendid funeral to his wife, for she had exhibited towards him, to the time of her death, the most angelic indulgence for his foibles. Even at that supreme moment, the morality of this ruler of his people manifested itself in a singularly edifying manner:—"The King, overcome or seemingly overcome at the idea of being a widower, burst into a flood of tears. The Queen renewed her injunctions that, after her decease, he should take a second wife. He sobbed aloud; but, amid his sobbing, he suggested an opinion, that he thought that rather than take another wife, he would maintain a mistress or two. 'Eh, mon Dieu,' exclaimed Caroline, '*cela n'empêche pas*' (the one does not prevent the other)."[2]

The theatre remained for some time closed in token of the general grief for the death of this worthy spouse. At the reopening, in January, 1738, *Faramondo* was given, in the cast of

[1] *Daily Post.*

[2] *Lives of the Queens of England of the House of Hanover*, vol. i., page 371.

which are to be found Madame Duparc,[1] commonly called *la* Francesina, and the famous Caffarelli.[2] It was only represented five times; a fact which (says Burney) is more dishonourable to the public than to the composer. The partisans of the composer appear to have been of the same opinion as Burney, for they caused *Faramondo* to be engraved by subscription. The *Daily Post* of the 23rd of January, 1738, explains, in the rhapsodical style of the journals of the period, how this was managed:—

"This day are published proposals for printing by subscription the opera of *Faramondo* in score, as it is performed at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, composed by Mr. Handel.

"1. The work will be printed on good paper.

"2. The price to subscribers half a guinea, to be paid at the time of subscription.

"3. The whole will be corrected by the author.

"4. Those lovers of musick who are willing to subscribe, are desired to send in their names immediately, the work being in such forwardness, that it will be ready to be delivered to subscribers by the 4th of February next. Subscriptions are taken in by John Walsh, and by most musick shops in town."

The edition contains a list of seventy-five subscribers, among them are the names of Dr. Pepusch, and of "Master Pepusch." Pepusch, who was a Prussian, was a composer of more learning than inspiration; he had occupied the first place in the musical world of England before the arrival of Handel, and would have been more than a man if he had not felt some resentment at losing it. He sided a little with the enemies of his conqueror; but at bottom he loved music too well not to admire Handel,

[1] She arrived in England at the end of 1736. The *London Daily Post* of the 18th of November, 1736, announces that "Sg^a. Merighi, Sg^a. Chimenti, and *la* Francescina, had the honour to sing before Her Majesty, the Duke, and the Princesses at Kensington, on Monday night, and met with a most gracious reception. After which, the Francescina performed several *dances* to the entire satisfaction of the Court."

[2] Gaetano Majorano, commonly called Caffarelli, from Caffaro, his first master. *Faramondo* was the part in which that celebrated evirato (who was as notorious for his vanity and his insolence as for his rare talent) made his *début* in England. Eventually he purchased a Duchy, and changed his name to that of Duca di Santi Dorato, which descended to his nephew. He inscribed upon the door of his chateau, *Amphion Thebas, Ego Domum.*

and although he called him "an old bear," he manifested a delicate consideration for him, by making even his son to subscribe to the old bear's work.

As some reparation for the failure of *Faramondo*, Handel hastily drew out of his own works the pasticcio of *Alexander Severus*, which was represented on the 25th of February, and whose fate was not more fortunate than that of the first King of the Franks. He then gave *Xerxes* on the 15th of April, 1738, which he had commenced on the 26th of December preceding, two days after he had completed *Faramondo*.

With what ardour this impassioned man regained lost time, even whilst suffering from a cruel malady! Vain efforts! *Xerxes* also was abandoned at the fifth representation. It is remarkable for having four little choruses, an unusual number at that time, and there is a facetious servant in the plot, whose music, says Burney, "is of a very comical cast." But in spite of this comicality, the erasures with which the MS. is covered bear witness to the agitations which tormented the mind of the composer. At that very time Del Po, the vindictive husband of Sg^a. Strada, threatened to arrest him for debt.[1]

But in the meantime, let it be mentioned at once, in order not to afflict the sympathetic reader too deeply, that he was not without consolation. When he was entirely ruined, his friends persuaded him, at the very height of the crisis, to invoke the gratitude of the public by giving a concert for his own benefit. This he determined to do, and the *London Daily Post* announced:—"On Tuesday, March 28, 1738, for the benefit of Mr. Handel, will be performed An Oratorio, with a concerto on the organ. Tickets, half a guinea; gallery, five shillings. To begin at 6. N.B.—For the better convenience, there will be benches on the stage." As it was known that his misfortunes were unmerited, and as his courage and character were in high esteem, the appeal of the great artist was not made in vain. The theatre was crowded to such a degree, that the net receipts did not amount to less than £800.[2] Mainwaring raises the sum to £1500,[3] but this seems like an exaggeration. Mr. Ayrton has

[1] Burney, page 426. [2] Burney, page 426. [3] Page 125.

a handbook of that concert, which is entitled *An Oratorio*. It is simply a concert of sacred and secular music, English and Italian, the pieces chosen being without any relation to each other. I do not understand why Handel called it an oratorio; for with equal reason all concerts might be so called.

A month afterwards, an honour altogether exceptional was paid to him. There was at that time, as there is now, a public garden called Vauxhall Gardens, where singing entertainments were given. It is by no means a modern fashion with the English to listen to music whilst they are walking about, eating and drinking, and talking with the ladies who frequent such places. The orchestra was complete, being even provided with an organ. Not only the secular compositions of Handel were performed there, but, unsuited as they must have been to such places, even his sacred works also. The *London Daily Post* informs us that on the 19th of August, 1738, "the entertainment at Vauxhall Gardens concluded with the *Coronation Anthems* of Mr. Handel, to the great pleasure of the company, and amidst a great concourse of people." I have in my possession the celebrated air in *Samson*, "Let the bright seraphims," published as "a favourite song set by Mr. Handel, sung by Mrs. Vincent at Vauxhall and Marybone." Marybone, or Marylebone, was another garden of the same kind. Although the engravings of the period represent the ladies and gentlemen, who are walking about, as attending to anything but seraphic thoughts, it appears that the music of Handel contributed to attract them thither. It is even certain that he wrote some compositions expressly for the frequenters of these gardens. Among his MSS. there is a *Hornpipe*, "composed for the concert at Vauxhall, 1740." The grandson of the Rev. J. Fountayne, in a letter inserted in the *History of the Parish of Marylebone*,[1] says:—"My grandfather, as I have been told, was an enthusiast in music, and cultivated most of all the friendship of musical men, especially of Handel, who visited him often, and had a great predilection for his society. This leads me to relate an anecdote, which I have on the best authority. While Marylebone Gardens were flourish-

[1] By Smith, 8vo, 1833.

ing, the enchanting music of Handel, and probably of Arne, was often heard from the orchestra there. One evening, as my grandfather and Handel were walking together and alone, a new piece was struck up by the band. 'Come, Mr. Fountayne,' said Handel, 'let us sit down and listen to this piece; I want to know your opinion of it.' Down they sat; and after some time the old parson, turning to his companion, said, 'It is not worth listening to—it's very poor stuff.' 'You are right, Mr. Fountayne,' said Handel, 'it is very poor stuff; I thought so myself when I had finished it.' The old gentleman, being taken by surprise, was beginning to apologize; but Handel assured him there was no necessity, that the music was really bad, having been composed hastily, and his time for the production limited; and that the opinion given was as correct as it was honest." The more we penetrate into the life of Handel, the more we perceive that he was not easily satisfied with himself.

Jonathan Tyers, the proprietor of Vauxhall Gardens, having gained a great deal of money, resolved to erect a statue to that noble composer, whose works had contributed to his fortune. On the 18th of April, 1738, the *Daily Post* announced:—"We are informed, from very good authority, that there is now near finished a statue of the justly celebrated Mr. Handel, exquisitely done by the ingenious Mr. Raubillac,[1] of St. Martin's Lane, statuary, out of one entire block of white marble, which is to be placed in a grand *nich*, erected on purpose in the great grove at Vauxhall Gardens, at the sole expense of Mr. Tyers, undertaker of the entertainment there; who, in consideration of the real merit of that inimitable master, thought it proper that his effigies should preside there, where his harmony has so often charmed even the greatest crowds into the profoundest calm, and most decent behaviour. It is believed that

[1] Roubilliac (not Raubillac) was then only a student; this statue was his first work, which explains why it cost so little. He was recommended to Tyers by Cheer, in whose studio he worked. He arrived in England from his native city, Lyons, as an ornamental stonecutter. One evening he chanced to find a purse full of gold, which belonged, he discovered, to Edward Walpole, to whom he restored it. Walpole was touched by this proof of honesty; and having learnt his intentions, caused him to enter Cheer's studio, and never ceased to patronize him.

the expense of the statue and nich cannot cost less than three hundred pounds."

On the same subject we also learn, from the *Daily Post* of the 2nd of May, 1738:—"Last night Vauxhall was opened, and there was a considerable appearance of persons of both sexes; the several pieces of music played on that occasion had never been heard before in the gardens; the company expressed great satisfaction at the marble statue of Mr. Handel."

This statue, for which the original sat, has now become the property of the Sacred Harmonic Society, and stands in their offices at Exeter Hall. The musician, clothed in a long robe, is seated with his legs crossed, and is playing upon a lyre. At his feet reclines a little Genius, who is writing down what he sings upon a leaf which is lying upon the back of a violin. The composition is heavy and affected; the head is too small, and the body too short. In fact, the statue appears to me to be not worthy of the great talent of its author. It gave rise to an inundation of acrostics, quatrains, and poetical compositions of all kinds (most of them full of Orpheuses), of which there are not less than five in the *London Magazine* for May, 1738, and of which the only passable one is as follows:—

"Drawn by the fame of these embowered retreats,
Orpheus is come from the Elysian seats;
Lost to the admiring world three thousand years,
Beneath lov'd Handel's form he reappears.
Sweetly this miracle attracts the eye:
But hark! for o'er the lyre his fingers fly."—LOCKMAN.

The same author made also a quatrain upon the sculptor:—

"That Orpheus moved a rock, a grove, a stream,
By music's power, will not a fiction seem;
For here as great a miracle is shown—
Famed Handel breathing, though transformed to stone."

At the same time that Handel was receiving this public tribute, he received also a private one. The *London Gazette* of the 2nd of March, 1738, contains the following announcement:—"Whereas a print of the author Mr. Handel is now engraving by an eminent hand, and is very near finished, those noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies who have done the author the honour of

subscribing may be assured, as soon as it is finished, it shall be sent to their houses by John Walsh, the undertaker of that work for the author." It would be interesting to know what this print was. Being published under Handel's sanction, it may be presumed that it was a good likeness. Unfortunately, among the fifty-six engraved and lithographed portraits of him which I have collected, I cannot find any belonging to 1738, or anything near that date.

In all the history of the fine arts this is, I believe, the only instance known of a statue being erected in honour of an artist during his lifetime. Human folly reserves exclusively that kind of glory for generals and kings; but it must be confessed, to the praise of Great Britain and to the honour of its intelligence, that the finest minds of the age, Pope, Fielding, Hogarth, Smollett, Gay, Arbuthnot, Hughes, Colley Cibber, &c., never for a moment misunderstood the great man; but all loudly manifested their admiration for him, and were not afraid to range themselves upon his side. His partisans were not to be daunted by anything; they recoiled neither before the blind hatred of the nobility, nor from the failure of his theatre, nor the fall of his later operas. They had protested against the judgment of the public by causing *Faramondo*, *Arminio*, and *Atalanta* to be engraved by subscription in spite of their failure. And it also deserves to be remarked, that how strong soever was the party which opposed him, his operas were all of them published, and frequently by three publishers at once;[1] whilst the greater part of those of his rivals remained in manuscript, or were only published in the form of selected airs.

Among the number of Handel's faithful admirers, it is only just to include George II. This king, who detested his father as much as he hated his son, was nevertheless fond of music. We read in the *London Daily Post* of the 4th of November, 1734, that "His Majesty was graciously pleased to subscribe £1000 towards carrying on the operas this season at Covent

[1] I have *Scipio* and *Alexander* by Walsh, by Cluer, and by Meares. As has been already explained, Walsh pirated, from *Julius Cæsar* in 1723, to *Lothario*, 1729, all the operas by Handel, of whom Cluer was, at that time, the only legitimate publisher.

Garden." His Majesty attended regularly all the oratorios, which were deserted by the whole Court, and even often by the town. Burney relates a witty saying of Lord Chesterfield upon this point:—"What, my lord," said some one to him, as he was coming out of Covent Garden one evening in the middle of the performance, "is there not an oratorio?" "Yes," replied he, "they are now performing; but I thought it best to retire, lest I should disturb the King in his privacies." Handel gave lessons to all the children of the royal family. The Princess Anne, who married the Prince of Orange, was particularly attached to him, and took his part against "the barons." One of her last thoughts on leaving England was to recommend him to Lord Harvey, the favourite of the Queen.[1] Frederick Prince of Wales, the son of George II., and George III., the son of Frederick, inherited the good musical taste of their ancestor. The predisposition of the child, who afterwards became George III., is thus related by Southey:—"Handel asked the King, then a young child, and listening very earnestly while he played, if he liked the music, and the Prince warmly expressed his pleasure. 'A good boy, a good boy,' he cried, 'you shall protect my fame when I am dead.'"[2]

Burney tells the story in another way. He relates that Handel, struck with the attention which the child manifested at the concerts which he conducted at Carleton House (the mansion of his father), said one day, "You will see that this young prince will keep up my music after I am gone." And he was not deceived. Burney states that he received from George III. some excellent notes on the works of Handel. It is to this King, above all, that we are indebted for Arnold's edition, which he encouraged with his purse, and which was interrupted when his wandering reason rendered him indifferent to such matters. It should be inscribed as a title of honour in the chronicles of the English family of Brunswick, that they were all determined Handelians.

Heidegger, having got nothing with which to repair the failures of *Pharamond* and *Xerxes*, found his speculation becoming worse and worse. The closing of the theatre at the

[1] *Lives of the Queens of the House of Hanover.* [2] Southey's *Commonplace Book.*

death of Queen Caroline, had done him harm. On the 15th of April, 1738, in announcing, through the medium of the *London Daily Post*, the first representation of *Xerxes*, he was compelled to add: —" N. B.—Having been impossible to perform the whole number of operas this season, each subscriber may have a ticket extraordinary delivered to him each night the opera is performed, upon sending his silver ticket to the office."

This ill-starred season finished on the 6th of June, 1738. Heidegger attempted to reopen, and advertised through the journals that he was ready to get together a new company, if he could obtain two hundred subscribers of twenty guineas each, " which would put him in a position to respond to the demands of the singers." The *London Daily Post*, for the 26th of July, reports the result of this proposition :—" Haymarket, July 15th, 1738.—Whereas the operas for the ensuing season, at the King's Theatre, in the Haymarket, cannot be carried on as was intended, by reason of the subscription not being full, and that I could not agree with the singers, though I offered One Thousand Guineas to *one* of them: I, therefore, think myself obliged to declare, that I give up the undertaking for the next year. I take this opportunity to return my humble thanks to all persons who," &c. J. J. Heidegger, the impressario of 1738, regarded one thousand guineas as a sum to be represented only in capital letters; but nobody was tempted to step into the place of so magnificent a man, and Italian operas were heard of no more until 1740.

During this interregnum, Handel published the first six *Organ Concertos, op.* 4^a, in order to rescue them from piracy. The *London Daily Post* of the 23rd of September, 1738, contains the following advertisement :—" *To all Lovers of Music:*—Whereas, there are six concertos for the organ by Mr. Handel, published this day, some of which have been already printed by Mr. Walsh, and the others done without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Handel; this is to give notice, that the same six are printing and will be published in a few days, corrected by the author.—J. Walsh."

Walsh repeated this advertisement on the 26th of September,

and on the 4th of October announced the work, with this note, which may also be found in the edition :—"These six concertos were published by Mr. Walsh from my own copy, corrected by myself, and to him only I have given my right therein.—George Frideric Handel."

Handel, although he had the exclusive right to publish his own works, appears not to have wished to exercise it here. He confines himself merely to putting the public on their guard against piracies. He was always a man of lofty manners, and very liberal.

Walsh engraved twenty organ concertos, and Arnold three others, which were then unpublished.[1] Out of the twenty-three, seventeen are with accompaniments for six instruments. The composition of the first dates as far back as 1733. According to Hawkins, "in the following year (1733) he performed *Esther*, and also *Deborah*, in the Lent season at Covent Garden Theatre. Upon this occasion he also gratified the public with a species of music of which he may be said to be the inventor, namely, the organ concerto. Few but his intimate friends were sensible that on this instrument he had scarce his equal in the world." Burney seems to wish to contradict Hawkins :—"Thus far [March, 1736] no organ concerto is mentioned, but April 7th and 14th, when the oratorio of *Esther* was performed, Handel played two each night." I doubt whether Handel waited until 1736 to play upon the organ in public. He certainly was aware of his great talent as an organist, and apart even from his natural desire to exhibit it, the bad state of his affairs in 1733 should have induced him to use this means of attracting the public to his oratorios. It is moreover certain, and so recognized by Burney, that he played upon the organ in 1733, at Oxford, where he produced his *Athalia*. Besides this, the fourth concerto of the first series is signed on the 24th of March, 1735. It is, nevertheless, possible that this concerto was performed only in 1736, for his *Minuet* was for a long time called the *Minuet of Esther*, because of a tradition that Handel always gave it with *Esther*. But whether he commenced in 1733 or in

[1] See "Catalogue" for 1738, '41, '60, '61, and '97.

1736, he continued to play "concertos" upon the organ at every performance of an oratorio to the end of his life. He generally gave them at the beginning of an act, but sometimes he introduced them even in the middle of the performance. In several of his MSS. may be found, written with pencil, after an air or a chorus, "Segue il concerto per l'organo" ("Here the concerto on the organ"). Among other examples of this, I find it in the MS. of *Alexander's Feast*, after "Let old Timotheus." He was a great improviser, and these written compositions were only of service to him when he felt that he was not in the vein; otherwise, he gave himself up to the inspirations of his inexhaustible genius. Burney relates that he was very fond of the movement in the chorus of *The Messiah*, "He trusted in God," and that he frequently took it as the theme for an extempore.

Having no longer anything to do for the Italian Opera, Handel undertook the oratorio of *Saul* on the 3rd of July, 1738, and finished it on the 27th of September; four days afterwards, on the 1st of October, he commenced *Israel in Egypt*, and finished it in twenty-seven days! Even when he had plenty of time before him, Handel always worked with fabulous rapidity.

In January, 1739, he took the unoccupied theatre in the Haymarket, "for the performance of oratorios twice a-week." This was the commencement of those series of twelve performances of oratorios, which he thenceforth gave annually during Lent. The *London Daily Post* of Friday, the 3rd of January, 1739,[2] says:—"We hear that, on Tuesday se'ennight, the King's Theatre will be opened with a new oratorio, composed by Mr. Handel, called *Saul*. The pit and boxes will be put together. The tickets delivered on Monday the 15th, and Tuesday 16th (the day of performance), at half a guinea each. Gallery, 5*s*.

[1] Malcolm.

[2] The *London Daily Post*, which gives this advertisement, is dated 1738, according to the old style, which answers to 1739, new style. Burney, forgetting the difference between the old and new styles, says (page 418), that "*Saul* was advertised on the 3rd of January, 1738, but was not performed till the next year, though this proves it to have been now in meditation." It is rare to find a mistake in Burney, and I only point it out in order that his readers and mine, trusting to his habitual exactness, may not be misled. *Saul*, which was composed between July and September, 1738, new style, was really only advertised in January, 1738, old style, that is to say, in 1739, new style.

The gallery will be opened at 4; the pit and boxes at 5. To begin at 6 o'clock."[1]

The first performance of *Saul* took place on the 16th of January, and, on the 22nd, the second was announced for the following day, "with several new concertos on the organ." *Several* new concertos in one day are very much. *Saul* is a work filled with surprising beauties. I have had the good fortune to hear it once at the summer performances which Mr. Surman, the conductor for the London Sacred Harmonic Society, gives at Exeter Hall. The overture is charming, and it is not astonishing that the introduction to such a subject as *Saul* demands this special praise. The overtures of the period had not become, as it were, the vestibule of the temple; they were purely and simply pieces of symphony, without any relation to the poem. All the overtures of the eighteenth century, until Haydn, might be changed from one opera to another, or from one oratorio to another, without any harm; but this defect accepted, that of *Saul* will always be admired for its grace and its extreme delicacy. The whole part of David is superb. That of Jonathan, who loves David with fraternal tenderness, is as touching in the score as in the poem. His air, "Sin not, O King," is particularly simple, sweet, and pleasant. The scene between the King and the Witch of Endor is a marvel of invention. The chorus *à carillons*, "Welcome, welcome, mighty King," has a vigour and a youth which will never be exhausted. As for the Dead March, no one is unacquainted with it. It is one of the masterpieces of musical art. Nothing has a more solemn effect than these orchestral rollings, interrupted by the grave accents of trumpets and

[1] Performances in 1739:—
January 16th and 23rd—*Saul.*
February 3rd and 10th—*Saul.*
February, 17th and 24th—*Alexander's Feast.*
March 3rd—*Il Trionfo del Tempo.*
March 20th—*Alexander's Feast.* For the benefit of the musicians, with several concertos on the organ, and other instruments, particularly a new one composed by Mr. Handel on purpose for this occasion.
March 27th—*Saul.*
April 4th, 11th, and 17th—*Israel in Egypt.*
April 19th—*Saul.*

trombones,[1] which recall the memory of the warrior, and by the lamentations of the hautboys, which pierce, from time to time, like flashes of despair. Mr. Lacy has pointed out to me, as a fact to be noted, that, in contradiction to all other musicians, who use the minor tone to give sombreness to their compositions of this kind, Handel has boldly made use of the major key in all his.

On the original MS. of *Saul*, after the recitative, "Impious wretch," all the words of the *Funeral Anthem* are copied, under the title of "Elegy on the Death of Saul and Jonathan (in the last funeral anthem)—The Sinfonia." At the end of the verse in the anthem, "Ways of Zion," Handel wrote, "*Poi segue quì, acc. recit. in D. David*—'O Jonathan, thou wast slain in the high places.' *Segue*—'When the ear,'" &c. After the verse, "He delivered," Handel wrote, "*Poi segue, Recitative*—'Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant,' &c. *Poi segue*—'Their bodies are buried,' &c. *Poi segue. High Priest.*—'Ye men of Judah.'"

The author intended, therefore, to introduce into *Saul* the *Funeral Anthem* which had been given a year previously at the burial service of Queen Caroline, but he renounced the idea; for all this is crossed out, over and over again, with ink. Doubtless, he thought that the words were not precisely in their place; for now that Saul is dead, we may confess that he was anything but "lovely and pleasant." He was obliged to content himself with a little symphonic piece, written after the March, for his Elegy. It will be seen, that the idea of making the *Funeral Anthem* useful was realized in *Israel in Egypt*.

In the British Museum is a handbook (small quarto) of —"*Saul*, an oratorio or sacred drama, set to music by Mr. Handel, and performed by the Academy of Ancient Music, on Thursday, April 24th, 1740. London, printed in the year 1740. N.B. All the lines marked with an asterisk * before them are left out in the performance." Seven pieces are marked with the proscribing asterisk.

[1] The score contains, besides other instruments, parts written for "trombona 1ª; 2da; 3ra; organo e cembalo."

Thus, a year after its first representation, this oratorio was performed by a society whose performances were not gratuitous. The music had been engraved in 1739 by Walsh, but, in his usual manner, without choruses or recitatives. Handel must, therefore, have benevolently given a copy of his score.

How is it that *Saul* does not form part of the current *repertoire* in England? It is a just reproach to the excellent and useful musical societies in this country, that they limit themselves to such a restricted number of compositions.

When Mr. Benedict directed the Harmonic Union, he twice gave *Alexander's Feast* with Mozart's accompaniment, which he brought from Berlin, were they still remain unpublished. That work has never been repeated. During four years the Dettingen *Te Deum*, two of the *Coronation Anthems*, and *Deborah* have only been produced once, and that by the Sacred Harmonic Society under Mr. Costa. It is to be regretted that such esteemed societies should be continually repeating the same works, as if they were afraid to summon their audiences to untried entertainments. The committee of the London Sacred Harmonic Society has not failed to perceive the ill effects of this; for, in its report for 1854, it announced that it intended to revive all such of Handel's compositions as were forgotten, but up to the present day nothing has been done; they appear to fear lest the efforts made in that direction should be received with indifference. We well know that the majority is ruled by custom; it feels a certain distrust for novelties which are not of the present day, precisely because the music with which we are familiar is the most impressive, and always appears to us to be the finest. Moreover, there are certain persons who have a natural preference for trombone quadrilles, and the "musical entertainments" of the ventriloquists. But is it the duty of orchestral conductors to form the education of the public, to perfect its taste, to lead it to a thorough comprehension of the beautiful—in fine, to enlarge the limits of its legitimate admiration? If the musical societies included within their *repertoire* the neglected compositions of

Handel, those of the public who suffer themselves to be led like sheep, would not come at first; but when they saw that good judges were attracted, they would follow their example, and when they came they would listen; and when beauties, fully equal to those of the five or six oratorios in vogue, began to appear, those who only admire established reputations would follow the elect. Many people have been persuaded into the belief that Mendelssohn's *Elijah* is as fine, and even finer, than *The Messiah* and *Israel*. We have no special grudge against *Elijah*, but, now that the merits of this recitative, which is infinitely too long, too noisy, and too full of reminiscences, are thoroughly established, what harm would there be in laying it aside occasionally, while they drew from oblivion such works as *Saul* and *Joshua* (which all musicians regard as marvels of greatness), if only to make us acquainted with those splendid *Anthems* which have excited so much admiration whenever they have been heard. And why do not the Philharmonic Societies, among their detached and generally well-chosen *morceaux*, execute some of the chamber duos and cantatas of Handel? By thus extending the domain of the master of masters, they would add constantly to his glory. Even if sacrifices were necessary to attain that end, would it not be worth them? The Sacred Harmonic Society stated, in its report for 1853, that it had in hand £4000. Did not that put it within the power of that Society to incur some risk in restoring forgotten music? Might it not with justice have paid to Handel a little of what it owes him?

And here let me add, that grand music has this advantage over all the other productions of the artistic faculties of man, that people are never tired of it. It is like daily bread, an aliment always new, always wished for. The oftener you hear a fine score, the greater pleasure you take in hearing it again. It charms you in proportion as you have familiarized yourself with it. Therefore it is not to be feared that people will be tired of listening to *The Messiah*, to *Judas*, to *Israel*, and to *Samson* to the end of time; and when I urge the revival of the neglected masterpieces of Handel, it is less for the purpose of *varying* the

pleasures of the public than to *increase* the sum of its intellectual enjoyments.

But the time is arrived for speaking of *Israel in Egypt*—of that Colossus of music composed in twenty-seven days: the first part, from the 1st to the 11th of October, 1738; and the second, from the 15th of October to the 1st of November! The notices in the journals which make mention of it are as striking as the episodes of a romance. It was performed on the 4th of April, 1739, "with several new concertos on the organ, and particularly a new one."[1] On the day following (the 5th), no mention is made, beyond simply announcing it for the 11th, "with alterations and additions, and the two last new concertos on the organ, being the last time of performing it." What must have been its reception at the first performance, when Handel announced its suppression on presenting it the second time? On the 10th appeared a new announcement for the 11th, followed by these words:—"The Oratorio will be shortened, and intermixed with songs." Strange contradiction! On the 5th, the Oratorio will be given "with additions," and on the 10th, it "will be shortened and intermixed with songs." What it was intended to express on the 10th, doubtless, was, that excisions had been made in order to make room for the songs belonging to the additions which had been mentioned on the 5th. *Israel* is, by exception, only in two acts; and being already too short to occupy an entire evening, it would be difficult to understand why it was still further cut down, if we did not know, from a contemporaneous handbook, that Handel added to it the *Funeral Anthem*, in the shape of a first part. The anthem is very naturally introduced as "Lamentations of the Israelites for the death of Joseph." As for the "songs intermixed," the examination of the original MS. enables me to state that they were Italian ballads. The following notes are to be found written with pencil:—After the chorus, "But his people," "*No.* 1, *Through the land, S^ra. Frances.*" After the chorus, "But the waters overwhelmed," "*No.* 2, *Angelico splendor, S. Frances.*" After the chorus in the second act, "Thy right

[1] *London Daily Post.*

hand," "*No.* 3, *Cor fedele ex* [in] *G., Sig^a. Francesina.*" And, finally, after the duet, "Thou in Thy mercy," "*No. 4, La speranza la constanza, S. Frances.*"[1] It is impossible to doubt that these were the "songs intermixed."

One word of explanation may be permitted. *The Exodus* (which is now the second part of *Israel in Egypt*) was written between the 1st and the 11th of October. The first part was commenced on the 15th of October. If we consider then that what is now the second part is not called an Act in the MS., we are tempted to believe that the author had originally the idea of composing the "Song of Moses" only for his own satisfaction, and without any premeditated design—at any rate, without any determinate end. Perceiving afterwards that the description of the plagues of Egypt would be a fine subject to treat, and would make a beautiful introduction, he set to work four days afterwards and cast the whole into an oratorio. This hypothesis supports the opinion which, without certitude, attributes the choice of the words to Handel himself, and it goes to explain why *Israel* is without an overture. It seems to be still more plausible, when we remember that the work was only in two acts, and is principally composed of choruses, of which there are twenty-eight, whilst there are only five airs and three duets.

But when it came to be performed, such a mass of choruses, with those of the *Funeral Anthem* added, very likely appeared to the audience of the time rather too heavy, and Handel replaced some of them by a few Italian ballads. The advertisement, that the oratorio would be shortened and songs intermingled, becomes therefore perfectly clear. Handel had to contend against the lightness of the public taste, still artistically very ignorant. He hoped that "But the water" would pass under favour of "Cor fedele spera sempre;" as Molière passed off the *Misanthrope* under favour of the *Fourberies de Scapin.* But less fortunate than the *Misanthrope*, the sublime anthem

[1] "Through the land" is an air of *Esther.* "Angelico splendor" and "Cor fedele" are still unedited. (See "Catalogue," 1738.) "La speranza la constanza" seems to be lost.

and the sublime oratorio could not succeed, even with the extenuating circumstances of the Italian ballads.

The newspapers remained entirely dumb after the second performance, on the 11th of April. Only, on the 13th, the following letter was inserted :—

"To the Author of the 'London Daily Post.'

"Sir,—Upon my arrival in town three days ago, I was not a little surprised to find that Mr. Handel's last oratorio, *Israel in Egypt*, which had been performed but once, was advertised to be for the last time on Wednesday. I was almost tempted to think that his genius had failed him; but must own myself agreeably disappointed. I was not only pleased, but also affected by it; for I never yet met with any musical performance in which the words and sentiments were so thoroughly studied, and so clearly understood; and as the words are taken from the Bible, they are perhaps some of the most sublime parts of it. I was indeed concerned that so excellent a work of so great a genius was neglected, for though it was a polite and attentive audience, it was not large enough, I doubt, to encourage him in any future attempt. As I should be extremely sorry to be deprived of hearing this again, and found many of the auditors in the same disposition, yet, being afraid Mr. Handel will not undertake it without some publick encouragement, because he may think himself precluded by his advertisement (that it was to be the last time), I must beg leave, by your means, to convey, not only my own, but the desires of several others, that he will perform this again some time next week.

"I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

"A. Z."

Poor as may be the style of this letter, it could be wished that the writer had signed it, in order that we might salute his name. It appears, therefore, that there were some men whose admiration supported the great composer; but "the author" of the *London Daily Post* was not among them, for he considered that he had done enough in printing the letter, and did not add

one word of commentary. On the 14th he confined himself strictly to the office of a clerk, by inserting the following paragraph:—"We are informed that Mr. Handel, at the desire of several persons of distinction, intends to perform again his last new oratorio of *Israel in Egypt* on the Tuesday next, the 17th inst."

On the 18th, the day after this third performance, it was announced once more for the 19th, but on the 19th appeared:—"This day, the last new oratorio, called *Saul*, and not *Israel in Egypt*, as by mistake was advertised in yesterday's bills and papers; with a concerto on the organ by Mr. Handel, and another on the violin by the famous Signor Piantanida, who is just arrived from abroad."

Israel in Egypt, therefore, was refused a fourth performance, and "the famous Signor Piantanida" took its place! Yet Handel determined to risk it during the following year. On the 1st of April, 1740, the *London Daily Post* advertised it "For that day *only*, in this season, with a new concerto for several instruments, and a concerto on the organ." After that, it was heard of no more until 1756, when, instead of the *Funeral Anthem* in the first part, extracts from *Solomon* and the *Occasional Oratorio* were substituted.[1] Even at that time, when his performances were much sought after, Handel was obliged to use the public gently. He gave *Israel* twice only in 1756, on the 17th and 24th of March; once in 1757, on the 4th of March; and once in 1758, on the 24th of February. In fact, including a representation at Oxford, of which I possess the handbook, this admirable work was only performed nine times during the lifetime of its author! Its failure must have been radical, for Walsh did not even draw out of *Israel* one of those books of "Songs in the Oratorio called so-and-so," which he sold for half-a-crown. The score was unedited in 1759, when the composer died.

In the history of the arts, there are accidents which will remain eternally incomprehensible; and one of these is to be found in the fact that *Israel in Egypt*, the Hercules of oratorios,

[1] See "Catalogue."

was despised by its cotemporaries. But what shall we say of England at that time? Shakspere, the greatest mind of all the human race, was then treated with indifference. The *London Daily Post* of the 14th of March, 1738, made this communication to its readers :—"Several of the nobility have agreed to erect a stately monument to the memory of *Mr.* William Shakespear, *the famous English Poet* (!) in Westminster Abbey." On the 28th of the following April it stated, that *Julius Cæsar* had been acted at Drury Lane Theatre, "towards raising a fund for erecting a monument to *his* memory." A year afterwards the project had got no further; for when *Hamlet* was performed for the same purpose, the theatre was half empty. Read the *Daily Post* of the 10th of April, 1739 :—"Last night was performed the tragedy of *Hamlet*, at Covent Garden, towards raising a fund *for erecting a monument* to the memory of Shakespear, on which occasion it was expected there would have been *a greater audience than there appeared to be.* But the Lord Burlington was pleased, out of his regard to the memory of so great a man, to give ten guineas for himself."

The corruption of taste had arrived at such an unheard of pitch, that a Mr. Theobald caused to be played, as well as printed, "*The Double Falsehood, or the Distressed Lovers;* a play as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. Written originally by Mr. W. Shakespeare, and *revised and adapted to the stage* by Mr. Theobald, the author of *Shakespeare Restored!!*" This piece, although a forgery, was received by the public as authentic. In Reed's *Biographia Dramatica,*[1] we learn, upon this subject, that "the play was acted twelve nights with considerable applause. The plot is from a novel in the first part of *Don Quixote.*"

If we had not a thousand examples that a bad education can vitiate the greatest intelligences on certain points, it would not be credible that Voltaire could have called Shakspere *un barbare* (a barbarian); but how can we be astonished, when we find that England herself, scarcely one hundred years ago, did not understand the immensity of that immeasurable genius.

[1] Vol. iii. page 173.

Did not Dryden dare to arrange *The Tempest!!* Dryden, when speaking in his preface of the project for that parody, which had been communicated to him, made use of these memorable words:—"But Sir William Davenant, as he was a man of a quick and piercing imagination, soon found that somewhat might be added to the design of Shakespeare, of which neither Fletcher nor Suckling[1] had ever thought. And, therefore, to put the last hand to it, he designed the counterpart to Shakespeare's plot, namely, that of a man who had never seen a woman; that, by this means, those two characters of innocence and love might the more illustrate and commend each other. This excellent contrivance he was pleased to communicate to me, and to desire my assistance in it. I confess that, from the very first moment, it so pleased me, that I never writ anything with more delight."!![2]

Dryden, in his preface to *Troilus and Cressida,* which also he has turned upside down, says again:—"It must be allowed, that the tongue in general is so much refined since Shakespeare's time, that many of his words, and more of his phrases, are scarce intelligible. And of those which we understand, some are ungrammatical, others coarse, and his whole style is so pestered of figurative expressions, that it is as affected as it is obscure. In this tragedy which I have undertaken *to correct,* I tried to remove *that heap of rubbish* under which many excellent thoughts were buried. Accordingly, I new-modelled the plot, threw out many unnecessary persons, improved those characters which were begun and left unfinished, and added that of Andromache."!!![3]

"Le méchant gout du siècle en cela me fait peur."—*Le Misanthrope.*

England showed at that time great ingratitude towards her demigod; and yet who loved her more dearly than he? His was not merely the love of a son for his mother, but it was as tender as that of a mother for her son. His works are full of

[1] Both these authors had already corrected (!) *The Tempest.*

[2] *The Dramatic Works of John Dryden,* 6 vols. in 12mo., 1762, vol. ii. page 180.

[3] Ditto, ditto, vol. v. page 2.

delicious passages, in which his patriotism becomes manifest. No corner of the globe has been sung by native poets as England has by her Shakspere:—

> "This other Eden, demi-paradise;
> This fortress, built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war;
> This happy breed of men, this little world;
> This precious stone set in the silver sea."
>
> *Richard II.*

Shakspere so loved his country, that he divined by intuition the heart-anguish of those who have lost theirs. Romeo, when Friar Laurence tells him that he is banished from Verona, cries:—

> "Ha! banishment? Be merciful, say 'death:'
> For exile hath more terror in his look,
> Much more than death: do not say 'banishment.'
> "*Friar.* . . . . . .
> Be patient, for the world is broad and wide.
> "*Romeo.* There is no world without Verona's walls:
> . . . . . .
> Hads't thou no poison mix'd, . . .
> But banished—to kill me—banished!
> O friar, the damned use that word in hell."

He who spoke thus was Shakspere, and yet his compatriots of the eighteenth century could not find the means of erecting a statue to him! Even at the present day in London, where you may find in every square a herd of dukes to whom not even bronze can give celebrity, Shakspere is nowhere to be found. His image remains shut up in Westminster Abbey, instead of being set upon a column, whose height should dominate over the metropolis as his genius dominates over the entire globe.

When Dryden, who was so truly a poet himself, remodelled *The Tempest*, which is an incomparable pearl of fancy and imagination; when he *corrected* the greatest of poets and of writers who ever has, and who ever will exist; when the author of *Romeo*, of *Richard the Third*, and of *Macbeth* is called "Mr. William Shakespeare;" when he is spoken of as "*a* famous English poet;" when a Theobald *restores* him; when *Julius Cæsar* and *Hamlet* do not attract sufficient audiences to purchase a marble statue for him; when they were not even acquainted with the ortho-

graphy of his name;—the fate of *Israel in Egypt* becomes somewhat less astonishing.

But this sublime work was destined to a worse fate than a complete failure; it had to pass through the stupid hands of arrangers. It was performed in 1765 at Covent Garden, with twelve airs and fourteen recitatives, the music of which was taken from the Italian operas of Handel, and set to English sacred words:—"*Israel in Egypt*, as it was performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, the choruses entire, and the songs from other the works of the late G. F. Handel, Esq. London, 1765." One is obliged to confess that the excellent Christopher Smith, who continued to give performances of oratorios once every year as his master had done, had something to do with this *pot pourri*. There is a complete score of it among the collection of books which he left behind him.[1] The adulterations in verse are interpolated into the oratorio, which is in prose! An analysis of this will be found in the "Catalogue," in the article upon *Israel*. It was then that "Great Jehovah, all adoring," was made of the melody composed for "Di Cupido impiego i vanni" ("I borrow the wings of Cupid")!

To the fault of effecting such adulterations was also added that of not acknowledging them, so that serious men, like Crosse, were deceived. "It would appear, however," says he, "that the public possess this work in an imperfect state, and that there are many connecting links to the choruses which do not exist in print. In the *Ancient Concert* books for April, 1792, there is a recitative, 'Thrice happy Israel,' which in-

[1] *Israel* is not the only work to which the Procrustean law has been applied. In the same precious collection there is also a *Solomon*, dated 1762, in which similar pieces of patchwork may be found. Instead of the original music of "Sad, solemn sound," that of "Spera si" ("Have hope"), in *Admetus*, has been substituted; the same thing for "Thy music is divine," which has been replaced by an air out of *Siroe*, "O placido il mare" ("Oh calm the sea"). The overture itself has been replaced by the first movement of that of the *Fireworks Music*. Even in the volumes of this collection, which contain music in the handwriting of Handel, we find interpolations of the same nature, which are due certainly to the lovers of medleys. When they revived the *Occasional Oratorio*, they pushed the practice to such a pitch as to interpolate into it a duet by Purcell!

"Peste soit de ta chute! empoisonneur, au diable!
En eusses-tu fait une à te casser le nez."
Le Misanthrope.

cludes part of Milton's invocation, 'Hail, holy light!' and a treble song, 'When the sun o'er yonder hills;' and in those for March, 1797, there is also a treble air, 'Great Jehovah, awful word;'—all professedly taken from *Israel in Egypt;* and we have recently heard the same recitative at a provincial meeting, with some additional lines; and also another, beginning 'God, look forth,' with a bass song, 'Wave from wave.' Only three MS. copies of these unpublished parts are known to be in existence, one of which is in the King's library, another in that of Sir George Smart, by whom they were made use of at the Norwich and Newcastle Festivals of 1824, and the third in that of another person. The *Hailstones Chorus* is prefaced in these copies by the following recitative:—'Yet Pharaoh still exalted,'" &c.[1]

All this is taken from the Medley of 1765.[2] The King, Sir George, and "the other person," possessed nothing to be coveted. I am much better off than they, for I possess the complete score of 1765, including "O sing ye praises to Great Jehovah," rigged up as the music of "Io gia t'amai, sdegnasti esser mia sposa," of *Rodelinda* ("I loved thee once, thou did'st scorn to be my wife"); like a statue of Jupiter dressed up in a tunic of Daphnis.

On the 16th of March, 1816, Sir George Smart, who has the merit of having caused many oratorios to be performed at that epoch, gave, among others, *Israel in Egypt*, thus advertised:—"The choruses entire, and many additional recitatives and songs from other of the works of Handel will be introduced, including some from the original MS. score (by permission), as performed under the direction of Handel." This advertisement and Crosse's note, lead me to fear that the venerable Sir George must also have borrowed Cupid's wings—"Di Cupido

[1] *Crosse's Account*, &c., page 427.

[2] "When the sun," is made out of "Caro padre," in *Ezio;* "Great Jehovah's awful word," of "Vuô dar pace" ("I wish to give peace"), a tenor air in *Tamerlane*, transposed five notes higher for a soprano; "Wave from wave," with "Sorge infausta" ("An ill-omened storm arises") of *Orlando*. Mr. Lacy, although his profound knowledge of all the music of Handel has rendered him alive to all these transmutations, cannot discover the origin of the recitatives; but the original MS., and the different copies by Smith, which do not furnish a word of them, at any rate prove that they do not all belong to *Israel*.

impiego i vanui." I should be sorry to say that they were ever used "under the direction of Handel."

It seems, in truth, as if certain works are destined, like certain men, to an evil destiny. This grand masterpiece, which began by failing, and which was afterwards travestied as we have seen, has not escaped, even in our time, a new profanation. A professor, Mr. T * * *, who caused *Israel* to be performed in 1838, at the Norwich Festival, took the theme of the Vandals of 1765, and played it with variations. Copying, without imitating them, he added, not less than nine pieces of the same stuff.[1]

How is possible not to believe in fatality? Mr. Surman, who has spent his life in restoring Handel's music to its purity, has adopted the professor's arrangements in his own edition of *Israel in Egypt!* Better still: he caused them to be performed on the 6th and 7th of March, 1840, when giving *Israel*, without saying that Handel never wrote such music for such words. How is it possible not to believe in the fatality which made Œdipus a twofold parricide? Mr. Surman himself, though a true

[1] 1° *Recitative.*—"Israel, how art thou fallen," made out of "Alma d'el gran Pompeo," of *Julius Cæsar*.

2° *Air.*—"Hear my crying," made out of "Cara sposa, amante cara," of *Rinaldo*.

3° *Air.*—"Great is Jehovah, the God of Jacob," made out of the gallant air in *Rodelinda*, "Io gia t'amai, sdegnasti essermia sposa," noticed before as applied, in 1765, to "O sing ye praises to great Jehovah."

4° *Air.*—"He layeth the beams," from a rural air in *Ezio*, "Nasce al bosco ("Born in the woods"), taken from the pasticcio *Redemption* of Arnold, who was the first culprit. Preston, in *The Beauties of Music and Poetry*, had already applied this very air to other English words—"The happy swain—Have you seen the morning sky?"

5° *Recitative.*—"God looking forth." } Both borrowed from the pasticcio of
6° *Air.*—"Waves from waves." } 1765.

7° *Duet.* "Praise ye Jehovah, who dwelleth in Zion," from the duet in *Rinaldo*, "Al trionfo del nostro furor" ("To the triumph of our fury").

8° *Air.*—"O Lord, thou hast in mercy," from the first air of the cantata, *Cæcilia Volgi*, very much altered, "La virtute é un vero nume" ("Virtue is a real divinity").

9° *Air.*—"He has rebuked the heathen." This is the crowning piece. The first part is made out of a mutilated air in *Scipio*, "Scoglio d'immota fronte" ("The firm fixed rock"); the second, of a fragment taken from "L'ombra del genitor" ("My father's spirit"), of *Julius Cæsar!* So that the sacred song, "He has rebuked," is a medley of two pieces taken from two different operas; and a *capo* of *Julius Cæsar* sends us back to *Scipio*.

musician, has replaced in these two performances the original duet, "The Lord is my strength," by "Praise Jehovah, who dwelleth in Zion;" and sung with—what? Why, with the music of a duet in *Rinaldo,* breathing rage and hatred, "Al trionfo del nostro furor" ("To the triumph of our fury").

But people are at length recovered from this perverse taste for amelioration, and the musical Œdipus, the excellent conductor, Mr. Surman, like all the others, now executes the most powerful of oratorios in its magnificent integrity, and without any adulteration. *Israel in Egypt* is sufficient for itself; but if thought to be too short to fill up an evening, there is the choice of adding to it, as a first part, according to the master's own selection, either the *Funeral Anthem,* or the extracts from *Solomon.* My own preference would be in favour of the *Funeral Anthem,* a work which is entirely beautiful, but which is now lost to universal admiration.

Israel in Egypt, like *The Messiah,* and the *Occasional Oratorio,* is composed of passages taken *verbatim* from the Bible; which gives me occasion to observe that they are in prose, the poem of all the other oratorios being in verse. The MS. does not contain any of the names of the personages. Nevertheless the handbook, which includes the *Funeral Anthem* for the first part, has personages, and arbitrary divisions into scenes, which give it the appearance of a dramatic piece. The words, in their biblical simplicity, form a poem eminently dramatic.

This oratorio is now sung constantly and everywhere. It is included in Mr. Hullah's excellent *repertoire* at St. Martin's Hall; and each time that I have attended its performance there, the one shilling pit was filled with a compact crowd of persons, among whom I have noticed many who were following the score with small octavo editions. The popularity of such a transcendant work is an incontrovertible proof of the high point to which musical education has arrived in England. Let those who doubt this, read the following article, taken from the *Era* of the 20th of November, 1853, on a performance of the previous evening:—"It is always good to inhale the bracing

mountain air of Handel. His music beats with the strong pulse of a wholesome, humanitary, universal feeling. No theme ever seems too great for Handel, he moves at home among miracles—he has music fit for Sinai and the passage of the Red Sea. In the bold certainty and inexhaustibleness of his inspirations, he calls up the image of the old prophet who smote the rock, and the waters gushed forth. It is music to make one grow strong as he sits and listens. *Israel in Egypt* is mainly a series of colossal choruses, almost exclusively a mountain chain of immense choruses, connected by some rugged passes of recitative, and a very few green vales of song, into which we are permitted to peep. These choruses are all wonderful specimens, in their way, of most consummate musical treatment. But there is a poetic force of conception in them, that still more commends them."

It is in this style that the diapason of musical criticism in England is occasionally heard. Such articles as these are written *currente calamo*, with a rapid pen, and their writers do not even care to sign them. Such things as these are cast into the rapid torrent of daily publicity—bright flashes of light which illuminate the dawn of a morning, and then are seen no more.

In the score of *Israel in Egypt*, many examples of imitative music may be found. The accompaniment of "Their land brought forth frogs," is an attempt to represent the jumping about of frogs; that of the chorus, "There came all manner of flies," plainly imitates the murmuring, the buzzing of swarms of flies. It is also certain that the orchestration of "He gave them hailstones for rain," is intended to imitate the pattering of hail.

The works of Handel furnish examples of many similar attempts. In *Berenice*, the accompaniment of "Tortorella che rimira" ("The turtle-dove which coos"), is an ingenious imitation of the cooing of the dove. In the sixth *Chandos Anthem*, "O sing unto the Lord," at the verse, "The waves of the sea rage horribly," he attempts to express, and not without success, the roaring of the sea. In *Jephtha*, the peculiar movement which accompanies "Waft her, angels, to the sky," materializes the undulation of something floating in space. In *Belshazzar*,

a little symphony, marked "Allegro postillions" (*sic.*), which precedes the chorus of the "Wise men," is evidently intended to represent the haste with which the wise men came to the palace. A cotemporary of Handel has pointed out that "the several breakings of the word hallelujah in the last chorus (hal-le-lu-jah), in order to represent the shoutings and acclamations of a people when labouring and panting for breath, is a thought truly Handelian indeed."[1]

In *Joshua*, the great composer has gone still further. "He has endeavoured," says Hawkins, "by the harmony of one long, extended note, to impress upon the imagination of his hearers, the idea of the great luminary of the universe arrested in his course; or, in other words, to make them hear the s un stand still."

Clouet[2] points out that, in "Applauso i duci in comminciar" (The princes applauded), of *Alexander's Feast*, he paints Alexander issuing forth in the midst of an orgie, arming himself with a torch, and followed by his generals, running to set fire to Persepolis. Whilst the accompaniment sparkles with the confused and unequal glare of the torches, the song expresses truthfully the precipitation and the tumult of the crowd, the rolling of the flames, and the living splendour of a conflagration.

The greatest composers have all made a similar use of imitative music. The *Creation* of Haydn, the "Lacrimosa" in Mozart's *Requiem*, the *Pastoral Symphony* of Beethoven, and the overture of Mehul's *Jeune Henry*, are admirable and memorable examples of this. Even the poets, whose means of execution are infinitely more limited, have made as much use as they could of imitative poetry. Racine certainly did not write unintentionally the famous monosyllabic verse:—

"Le ciel n'est plus pur que le fond de mon cœur."—*Phédre.*

And it was not by chance that he multiplied the letter *s* so often in that other celebrated verse:—

"Pour qui sont ces serpents qui sifflent[3] sur vos têtes."—*Andromaque.*

[1] *Remarks upon Music.* [2] *Chants Classiques.* Paris: Richaut.

[3] Hissing serpents are, like singing swans, an extinct species which has not been heard of since the poets of antiquity discovered it. Natural history makes no mention of them.

The ill-humoured Boileau, who assumed also the singular pretension of regulating the poetic art, has painted Idleness very happily in the languor of this finale:—

"Et lasse d'un pareil effort
Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'œil et s'endort."
Lutrin.

Even those who are not acquainted with Latin understand only by the ear the meaning of Virgil's

"Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum."

English poetry is also full of similar examples. Shelley's exquisite poem, *The Sensitive Plant,* presents several beautiful examples of this:—

"The plumèd insects swift and free.
Like golden boats on a sunny sea,
Laden with light and odour which pass
Over the gleam of the living grass.

The quivering vapours of dim noontide,
Which, like a sea, o'er the warm earth glide,
In which every sound, and odour, and beam,
Move as reeds in a single stream."

Even the immortal Shakspere himself consecrated this poetical ornament by making use of it. Who cannot discern the connection between the sense and the sound, when, in the "Seven Ages of Man," he describes the babe as—

"Mewling and puking in his nurse's arms."—*As You Like it.*

Or when he speaks of—

" . . . The brook that brawls along this wood."—*As You Like it.*

Or when he sketches the shock of battle, as—

" . . . Rous'd up with boisterous untuned drums,
With harsh resounding trumpets dreadful bray,
And grating shock of wrathful iron arms."—*Richard II.*

In spite of such authorities, there are few critics who do not think themselves compelled to make objections to imitative music. Without the slightest shame, I must confess that I do not understand such severity. I accept all that art can produce and recognize as subject to it—the natural, the physical, and the moral worlds, the heavens and the earth. Ridicule those, if you will, who wish to push imitative music to reality, who

endeavour to make it deceive the ear, as the painter amuses himself with making eye-cheats. That I can understand; for to imitate a blacksmith exactly, there is no need of an orchestra; it would be better to take a hammer and an anvil at once. But if it be possible, by the artistic imitation of nature, by certain combinations of sonority, to give birth in your mind to a certain material image; if you can represent anything harmonically; if you can make darkness visible to the eyes of the imagination, as Handel did in that chorus in *Israel*, "He sent a thick darkness"—why should it not be done? Gretry congratulated himself upon having placed in the overture of *Panurge*, a phrase of twenty bars, one of the largest that has ever been made in music. "It paints," says he, "the character of the inhabitants of the Isle of Lanterns, a country in which no one is ever in a hurry." What is there in this that can be considered offensive to the dignity of art, reason, and good taste? The absurdity is to deprive ourselves of an intellectual sensation.

Handel never regarded music as a simple arrangement of agreeable sounds; he always attempted to make it speak to the mind—that it should have a physical as well as a moral meaning. *Solomon* offers an admirably successful result of this endeavour. The two women sing in an absolutely different manner. The entire part of the real mother is full of grace, unction, and tenderness; whilst that of the false mother—she who has stolen the child—is, on the contrary, harsh, hard, and violent throughout. If they did not pronounce a single word; if they only uttered the sounds which are noted for them, they would be perfectly distinguishable from each other. This rare fitness of expression was so well appreciated by the cotemporaries of Handel, that he has even been compared to Demosthenes, in an "Essay on the Oratorial Art," in the *London Magazine* for 1762:—"To exemplify an instance or two of *musical expression* out of Mr. Handel, in the strain of Dalilah's address to Samson, as my 'faith and truth'—the subject is an entreaty enforced by passionate love. How finely has the composer worked into this strain (which yet is but a confined subject)

the three several emotions of *complaint*, of *languishment*, and *importunity*—all as essential to the subject as they are forcibly expressed! Again, in another passage of the said oratorio—'To song and dance.' Mirth is the theme here, as well as in that passage of the *Allegro*, 'Mirth, admit me of thy crew;' and yet the expression of joy is very distinctly and finely adapted to both those cases. In the *former*, it appears in the air of exultation and *triumph* and *religious joy*—of chant and praise to Dagon for the captivity of an enemy, till now almost too dreadful to behold; and, in the *latter case*, how naturally are both the strain and time calculated to express mirth of a much *lower* kind, viz., *facetiousness*, *festivity*, and all the wantonnesses of that passion! Examples of this kind are innumerable in Mr. Handel, and these, when represented with all their proper accompaniments, are invaluable demonstrations, as well of the grandeur of the science, as of the expressiveness of its composition. In this view of them, most certainly Handel's oratorios will rank with any of Cicero's or Demosthenes' orations; and, without doubt, the several parts of the subject are as well planned by the musician, as disposed by the orator, before they are drawn out into composition."

Imitative music is to our physical senses what expressive music is to the moral. When, thanks to its graphic power, it represents horses galloping, insects flying, the sea roaring, the fire devouring, and the lion leaping on his prey—why should that be condemned, when it is thought good to represent, in the same manner, the exultation and the depression of the soul. The empire of art is boundless, and all that is indispensable is success. Only the ridiculous is ridiculous. Art is, after all, only an admirable convention, to which it is first necessary to submit yourself before you can enjoy it. If you wish to criticise it so closely, you must forbid to music the representation of the passions. Anger does not sing; she cries: Sorrow does not sing; she complains: Passion does not sing; she speaks: Pain does not sing; she weeps. The music of expression itself is not absolute in its effects; for we often require to be forewarned of its intention, in order

to be affected by it; and it can sometimes apply the same notes to ideas opposed to each other, as is frequently the case in pieces arranged in stanzas and couplets.

The abuse which the critics have directed against imitative music reminds me of the Ephori who condemned Timotheus, for having, in his musical poem of *Sémélé*, imitated, "in an indecent manner," the cries of a woman in labour; but the same Ephori had already sentenced Timotheus to be fined for adding three strings to the ancient lyre! To adopt the *dicta* of these early magistrates of Lacedemon is to be still more blindly conservative than they, for it is to retrograde three thousand years. Every one is free to become a Spartan if he wishes, but what must we think of Mr. Macfarren, who has been so carried away by the doctrinary system as to say of Handel that, "in some instances, he reaches the unfortunate degree beyond the sublime."[1] Is it not an indelible disgrace to insinuate the word *ridiculous* in connection with anything that Handel wrote, without so much as daring to pronounce it? Mr. Macfarren is a composer and a critic of real talent; his *Lenore* is a very beautiful work; but the profound admiration which he has often expressed for the author of *Israel in Egypt* will scarcely excuse his utterance of such an audacity. Masters like Handel know where to stop, and their great genius is a better guide than our poor æsthetics.

Although the fact is enveloped in obscurity, there are reasons for suspecting that, during the season in which *Saul* and *Israel* were produced, Handel gave also an opera. The *London Daily Post* of the 26th of April, 1739, announced suddenly:—"On Tuesday next, May 1st, will be performed, at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, a dramatical composition called 'Jupiter in Argos.' [Handel's name not mentioned.] Intermixed with Choruses, and 2 Concertos on the organ. To begin at 7."

As there is a *lacuna* in the collection of this journal in the British Museum Library, from the 30th of April to the 7th of May, I cannot ascertain precisely whether the representation

[1] *Musical World* for 1849, page 215.

ever took place. Admitting the fact, it may be that the expedition of Jupiter to Argos was not a fortunate one, and he probably died a violent death on his arrival there; for the advertisement of the 26th of April is the only mention which the journals make of this matter. Jupiter might well shake all Olympus with a frown, when he found that he was submitted to Destiny like the other gods! And Destiny had decided that all Handel's operas belonging to that epoch should fall heavily. Burney, who discovered only the advertisement of this opera, has expressed a doubt of its existence; but I have found, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, a great part of the MS., comprising the last pages, dated—"fine dell' opera *Jupiter in Argos*, April 24, 1739, G. F. Handel," which coincides with its conjectured performance on the 1st of May. At any rate, it will be seen by the "Catalogue" that it was partly a pasticcio, and that it certainly does not contain more than twenty original pieces, and perhaps only eleven. I am inclined to believe that it was never performed, because it is only to be found in the MSS. of scattered pieces, and there is no copy of it either in Buckingham Palace, or in Mr. Lennard's collection, or in Smith's collection. Yet the latter contains complete copies of *Orestes* and of *Alexander Severus*, which are pasticcios without a single original note.

In spite of these terrible defeats, the indomitable Handel, wandering from theatre to theatre, reappeared during the following season, at the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, with Dryden's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*.

The *London Daily Post* of Saturday, the 17th of November, 1739, announced:—"At the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Thursday, November 22nd (being St. Cecilia's Day), will be performed a *new ode*, with two new concertos for several instruments, which will be preceded by *Alexander's Feast*, and a concerto on the organ. Boxes, half a guinea; pit, 5*s*.; gallery, 3*s*. and 2*s*. To begin at six o'clock. The passage from the fields to the house will be covered, for better conveniency."

On the 4th of February following, the same journal an-

nounced *Acis* and Dryden's *Ode* for the 7th; but on the 6th the following paragraph appeared:—"In consideration of the weather continuing so cold, the serenata called *Acis and Galatea* will be put off for a few nights further, of which due notice will be given." The performance took place only on the 21st. The frost of 1740 is celebrated in history. The new composition appeared six times during the season.[1] One of its airs, "Orpheus could lead," is marked "*à la* hornpipe." As the hornpipe is a very saltatory dance, it is something as if a modern composer were to mark one of his airs, "à la polka."

It is necessary to distinguish Dryden's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* from his *Alexander's Feast*, which also is an ode for the Festival of St. Cecilia. The poet does not seem to have written the former with an excess of enthusiasm. On the 3rd of September, 1687, he wrote to his son, who was in Italy:—"In the meantime, I am writing a song for St. Cecilia's Feast, who you know is the patroness of music. This is troublesome, and no way beneficial; but I could not deny the stewards of the feast, who came in a body to me to desire that kindness, one of them being Mr. Bridgeman, whose parents are your mother's friends."[2]

It is also to 1739 that the book of *Seven Sonatas, or Trios, Opera* 5ª (which is a continuation of the *Six Sonatas, or Trios, Op.* 2ª, of 1732), belongs; and also the *Twelve Grand Concertos*, or septuors, *Op.* 6ª, performed during the season of 1739-40. Handel had already written, in 1736, the *Concertante in Nine Parts*, which Walsh, in 1742, inserted in *Select Harmony*.

[1] Performances during this season of 1739-40:—

November 22nd and 27th, 1739—*Alexander's Feast* and *St. Cecilia's Day*.

December 13th and 20th—*Acis and Galatea* and *St. Cecilia's Day*, with two new concertos for several instruments and an organ concerto.

February 21st, 1740—*Acis and Galatea*, and *St. Cecilia's Day*.

February 27th—*L'Allegro*.

March 6th, 10th, and 14th—*L'Allegro*.

March 21st—*Saul*.

March 26th—*Esther*.

March 28th—*Acis* and *Dryden's Ode*; for the Musical Fund.

April 1st—*Israel*.

April 23rd—*L'Allegro*.

[2] *Dryden's Works*, Moxon's edition, page 60.

The *Twelve Concertos* were composed at once, between the 29th of September and the 30th of October, 1739, and were published by subscription. "This day," says the *London Daily Post* of October 29th, "are published proposals for printing by subscription, with His Majesty's royal license and protection, Twelve Grand Concertos, in Seven Parts, for four violins, a tenor, a violoncello, with a thorough bass for the harpsichord. Composed by Mr. Handel. Price to subscribers, two guineas. Ready to be delivered by April next. Subscriptions are taken by the author, at his house in Brook Street, Hanover Square,[1] and by Walsh." Repeating his advertisement on November 22nd, the publisher adds:—"Two of the above Concertos will be performed this evening at the Theatre Royal, Lincoln's Inn."

On Monday, the 21st of April, 1740, the *Daily Post* says:—"This day is published, with His Majesty's license and protection, Twelve Grand Concertos for violins, and in seven parts. Composed by Mr. Handel. N.B.—Those gentlemen who are subscribers are desired to send for their books to the author, or to J. Walsh."

In announcing them again a few days afterwards, in the *Daily Post*, Walsh adds:—"These Concertos were performed at the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and now are played in most public places with the greatest applause." This was the case with all the works of Handel. They were so frequently performed at contemporaneous concerts and benefits, that they seem, during his lifetime, to have quite become public property. Moreover, he did nothing which the other theatres did not attempt to imitate. In the little theatre of the Haymarket, evening entertainments were given in exact imitation of his:—"Several concertos for different instruments, with a variety of chosen airs of the best masters, and the famous *Salve Regina* of Hasse." The handbills issued by the nobles at the King's

[1] Handel's "dwelling was on the south side of Brook Street, near Hanover Square, in a house four doors from Bond Street and two from the passage to the stable-yard." —(Hawkins.) It is now No. 57, Brook Street. This little house, in which Handel resided for a great number of years, and where he died, has not any inscription to point it out to public interest. The present tenant kindly permitted me to visit it, but it contains absolutely nothing to remind one of its former inhabitant.

Theatre, make mention also of "several concertos for different instruments." They even attempted to occupy the same arena which he had opened; for on the 10th of April, 1734, they gave "a new oratorio, or sacred drama, called *David*, set to music by Sg^r. Nicolo Porpora."[1] But this time it was not of victory *David* had to boast; for he promptly disappeared with great humility. The Saxon Goliath was not to be slain by a stone from a sling.

The Saxon Goliath! Is there not something appropriate in the name? Handel was truly an exceptional man. The strength of his mind was equalled only by the greatness of his intelligence. The more adversity struck him, the more his energy developed itself. His resistance to evil fortune inspires a profound veneration for his moral character. Already fifty-five years old, vanquished, deceived, pursued by a faction which was as powerful as it was unreasonable, annoyed by petty rivals, parodied in the *Dragon of Wantley*, a prey to the bitter mortifications of an insolvent debtor, he did not give way; he showed no signs of weakness for an instant. He braved everything, and, by his unaided self, accomplished the work of ten men. In the year 1739 only, he produced *Saul*, *Israel*, Dryden's *Ode*, and the *Twelve Grand Concertos*—four first-rate works of different character, and each of which was enough to establish the glory of a composer. And this is without reckoning the opera of *Jupiter in Argos*, or the troubles, the negotiations, and the difficulties of all sorts, which the organization of two series of concerts, in which he caused the four great novelties to be performed, must have cost him. What overwhelming labours! Mankind (always, to its misfortune, seduced by helmets and plumes) has sung for many centuries of the intrepid Ajax crying out in the midst of the shipwreck, when he was driven back from the shore, "I *will* land, in spite of the gods;" but what was this cry of exaltation and of anger, valiant as it was, in comparison with these mighty and accumulated efforts which Handel made during those twelve months against the redoubled attacks of fortune.

[1] *Daily Journal.*

Unhappily, the masses were not yet sufficiently enlightened to be occupied either by his vocal or his instrumental music; and the aristocracy, whom a better education enabled to understand it, had a prejudice against him. It is but too certain that works like *Saul*, *Israel*, and Dryden's *Ode* were not even sufficient for the season; for on the 27th of February, 1740, the inexhaustible composer gave, in addition, the ode *L'Allegro, Il Penseroso and Il Moderato*, which he composed in fifteen days. The *London Daily Post*, of the 27th of February, 1740, announced:—"Never performed before—at the Royal Theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields, this day will be performed *L'Allegro*, &c., with two new concertos for several instruments, and a new concerto on the organ. Boxes, half a guinea; pit, 5*s*.; first gallery, 3*s*.; upper gallery, 2*s*. Pit and gallery opened at four, and boxes at five." The original handbook confirms this announcement. At the beginning of the first part we find "a new concerto for several instruments," the same at the beginning of the second part; and "a new concerto on the organ," at the beginning of the third part. The poem of *L'Allegro*, &c., is by Milton, with the exception of the third part, *Il Moderato*, which was audaciously added by Charles Jennens. The first two parts consist of a very elevated discussion between Allegro (tenor) and Penseroso (soprano), each accompanied by a chorus, which supports their arguments. The third is filled by the Moderato of Jennens, who, with his choruses, advises them to adopt the happy medium. A great poet like Milton would never have imagined this poor Moderato, with his mediocrities. It required all the boldness of genius to attempt a subject so eminently undramatic. Never had music to depend upon herself so entirely. In order to break the monotony, an air of Allegro in the first act is for a basso, and an air of Penseroso in the second act is for a counter-tenor. The cold manner in which oratorios, odes, and serenatas are performed (without either action or costume) can alone permit these disorders in a part. Handel, nevertheless, wrote to this subject one of his most valued scores.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1740, contains a long

piece of poetry, signed G. O., full of the most enthusiastic admiration for the author of *L'Allegro*. It commences thus:—

"TO MR. HANDEL,

"ON HEARING 'ALEXANDER'S FEAST,' 'L'ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO,' ETC.

"If e'er Arion's music calm'd the floods,
And Orpheus ever drew the dancing woods;
Why do not British trees and forest throng
To hear the sweeter notes of Handel's song?
This does the falsehood of the fable prove,
Or seas and woods, when Handel harps, wou'd move."

The remainder is of the same high poetical order.

But *L'Allegro* could no more move the people of those times than it could the "seas and woods." The season of 1739-40 was as unfruitful as its predecessors. Yet Handel did not the less take care of the poor; for, on the 28th of March, 1740, he gave *Acis* and Dryden's *Ode* "for the musical fund benefit."

The mention of Charles Jennens, the author of *Il Moderato*, suggests to me that some information respecting him will not be out of place.

Charles Jennens, who also compiled the poems of the *Messiah* and *Belshazzar*, was an amateur poet. Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (vol. iii. p. 121) contains a long notice of him. He was descended from a manufacturing family from Birmingham, of whom he inherited great wealth. In his youth, he was remarkable for the number of his servants, the splendour of his equipages, and the profusion of his table, all which procured for him the name of *Solimon the Magnificent*. For a long time he mingled the cultivation of literature with a most pompous mode of life. Short as was the distance between Great Ormond Street, Bloomsbury, where he resided, and Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street, where was the office of his printer, he used to go thither to correct his proofs in a four-horsed carriage with four lackeys. When he arrived at the passage he descended from the coach, and was preceded by a servant, whose business it was to clear away the oyster-shells or any other obstacle that might impede his progress. At the latter end of his life (in 1769) he commenced an edition of Shakspere, and accused his predecessors of negligence and want

of fidelity. When Johnson and George Steevens proceeded to ascertain the value of his criticisms, he replied by a pamphlet directed against them—"The Tragedy of *King Lear*, as lately published, vindicated from the abuse of the Critical Reviewers, and the wonderful genius and abilities of those gentlemen for criticism set forth, celebrated, and extolled, by the editor of *King Lear*. 1772." But, with such men opposed to him, the laughers were not on his side. He was generous, benevolent, and a beneficent friend to the arts, which should more than cause the vanity with which Steevens reproached him to be forgotten. He was well acquainted with Handel, whose part he took against every one, and he had the honour to be named in his will. A letter addressed to the *Public Advertiser*, of the 14th of February, 1771, in answer to an attack of George Steevens against Jennens, which is inserted in the same journal, says that "Handel, to the time of his death, lived with him in the greatest intimacy and consideration." He died on the 20th of November, 1773, aged seventy-five years. It is constantly asserted that he had two daughters, one of whom married Lord Howe, and the other Lord Aylesford. Nichols gives, however, the inscription upon his tomb, which states that he died a bachelor. Nichols also gives his will, which is full of munificent legacies for charitable purposes, and by which he left his large fortune to his sister's son, William Penn Assheton Curzon, and in default of heirs, to his godson Charles Finch, the second son of Heneage, Earl of Aylesford. It was therefore by this nephew, William Penn Curzon, that his property passed into the Howe family. The will states that he gave to William Penn Curzon the pictures, engravings, statues, the library of books, plate, &c., which were in his residence at Gopsall, in Leicestershire, except his music-books and his instruments, which he left to Heneage, Earl of Aylesford, to be considered as "heir-looms." Among the pictures was a large full-length portrait of Handel, by Hudson, which still adorns Gopsall, now the seat of Lord Howe. I have seen there also the portrait of Charles Jennens, when an old man. He has the air of an honest tradesman, with a face somewhat full and round. He wears a very simple maroon-coloured coat,

and scarcely has the appearance of being the conceited and pompous personage that his enemy, George Steevens, makes him out to be.

Thenceforth his friend Handel treated only subjects similar to *L'Allegro* or oratorios. As the value of such compositions chiefly consisted in their choruses and orchestration, first-rate interpreters could be more readily dispensed with; and as they were written to English words, they addressed themselves to a more numerous public, and permitted the employment of indigenous artists. Perhaps, also, the ruined impresario considered that this sort of composition exposed him to less expense; for with oratorios and odes there were no more decorations, no more costumes, and no more ballets. Finally, he said that sacred music "was best suited to a man descending in the vale of years;"[1] but he said that only after the failure of his dramatic compositions, and at the bottom of his heart he had not yet bid the latter an eternal farewell. We may be sure that his operas, which are now so completely forgotten, must be really very fine, when we see with what attachment he kept them in his regard. Works that he was so fond of making must have been impregnated with the perfumes of his genius. *Justin*, *Arminius*, and *Berenice* had been the impotent witnesses of his failure; *Faramondo* and *Xerxes* had failed so utterly that Heidegger closed the theatre for the second time, and, under the circumstances, there was no prospect of its being reopened for some time.

As it has been stated, Handel then set to work upon *Saul*; but, after the completion of the first two acts, he took up suddenly the opera of *Imeneo*, and it was only after having given himself the satisfaction of writing the three acts of that, that he returned to the oratorio. We may follow this curious movement of his mind, by observing the dates of the two MSS.[2] In fact, it was only after reiterated failures that he renounced his dear operas, and when he was forced to confess that the public decidedly refused to follow him upon that ground. He was about to suffer the last proof of that determination.

On the 8th of November, 1740, he took the theatre at

[1] Hawkins. [2] See "Catalogue."

Lincoln's Inn Fields for the season, and opened it with a revival of *Parnasso in Festa;* giving afterwards *Imeneo* (Hymen), for which he had abandoned *Saul*. *Hymen* (produced on the 22nd of November) enjoyed precisely one representation less than it numbered acts! Handel replaced it by *L'Allegro,* and calmly finished another opera, *Deidamia,* which he produced on the 10th of January, 1741. But the resistance of the public was quite equal to the tenacity of the artist, and he was compelled to put *Deidamia* upon the shelf, after its third representation.

I cannot believe that *Hymen* deserved its fate. Handel at any rate did not submit to it, for it is the only one of his Italian operas that he took with him into Ireland, and it was sung there twice in the manner of a serenata. As for *Deidamia,* in the analysis which Burney makes of it, the word "admirable" occurs in every line. The march in the overture is particularly mentioned, and Mr. Lacy says that the final chorus, "Non trascurate, amanti," is incontestably one of the finest works of that kind which the master has produced.

The season of 1740-41, which opened on the 9th of November, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, terminated on the 7th of April.[1] It had been disastrous; but nothing could make Handel forget the duty which he seems to have imposed upon himself, of giving an annual performance for the benefit of his brethren in distress. In order to make it all the more profitable, he gave it, on the 14th of March, at the great theatre in the Haymarket. The *London Daily Post* announced:—"For the benefit and increase of a fund established for the support of decayed musicians and their families, at the King's Theatre, on Saturday next (14th) will be performed, with the original scenes and habits, *Parnasso*

[1] Performances during this season, 1740-41:—
November 8th, 1740—*Parnasso.*
November 22nd and December 13th—*Hymen.*
January 10th and 17th, 1741—*Deidamia.*
January 31st and February 7th—*L'Allegro.*
February 10th—*Deidamia.*
February 21st—*L'Allegro.*
February 28th and March 11th—*Acis* and Dryden's *Ode.*
March 18th—*Saul.*
April 8th—*L'Allegro* and Dryden's *Ode.*

in Festa, composed by Mr. Handel for Her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange's wedding."

On the 8th of April following, the noble composer gave a species of farewell performance, consisting of *L'Allegro* and the *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day.*[1] The *London Daily Post* of the day announced:—"This being the last time of performing, many persons of quality and others are pleased to make great demands for box tickets, which encourages me (and I hope it will not give offence) to put the pit and boxes together at half a guinea each. First gallery, five shillings; second gallery, three." The poor great man was obliged to make money out of everything.

In connection with this representation, which was advertised many days in advance, the *London Daily Post* of the 4th of April, 1741, inserted a very long letter, signed J. B., which gives us many indications as to the situation of Handel. The correspondent commences by a sort of essay upon the Power of Music, in which he goes as far back as the Deluge, and quotes Orpheus, Timotheus, and ten others; then he arrives at his subject:—"At this time," says he, "when it is become a fashion to neglect Mr. Handel (unknown as his person is to me), I will recall Cotsoni, Faustina, Cenosini (*sic*), that he had in his time raised to fame, who had gained by his compositions both praise and profit, whilst *the merit* unobserved, and almost unrewarded, was the poor, but the proud lot of the forgotten master. * * * * If we are not careful for him, let us be for our own credit with the polite world; and if old age or infirmity, if even a pride so inseparable from great men, have offended, let us take it as the natural *foible* of the great genius, and let us overlook them like spots upon the sun. * * * * You may by this time, Sir, easily see what I mean by this letter. I wish I could urge this apology to its full efficacy, and persuade the gentlemen of figure and weight, who have taken offence at any part of this great man's conduct (for a great man he must be in the musical world, whatever misfortunes may now, too late, say to the contrary), I wish I could persuade them, I say, to take him back into favour, and

[1] In a handbook, in which these two works are united, *Moderato* (the third part of *L'Allegro*) is suppressed.

relieve him from the cruel persecution of those little vermin, who, taking advantage of their displeasure, pull down even his bills as fast as he has them put up, and use a thousand other little acts to injure and distress him. But, in the meantime, let the public take care that he wants not—that would be an unpardonable ingratitude; and as this oratorio of Wednesday next is his last for the season, and, if report be true, probably his last for ever in this country, let them, with a generous and friendly benevolence, fill this his last house, and show him on his departure, that London, the greatest and richest city in the world, is great and rich in virtue as well as in money, and can pardon and forget the failings, or even the faults, of a great genius," &c., &c.

However excellent in intention, this begging-letter, in which Handel is treated as if he were blameable, must have greatly excited his anger. But it is curious to gather from it to what a pitch "the gentlemen of figure and weight" were excited against him. The tearing down of the bills as soon as they were posted, is a detail which has a bad look, and is certainly not without weight. We may guess, also, that Handel was irritated, since he resolved to quit the land of his adoption, and in that case Ireland, whither he went shortly afterwards, may claim the honour of having preserved him to Great Britain, by restoring him to sufficient confidence to enable him to engage in new efforts.

But although (thanks to the animosity of the richer classes) he made little profit for himself out of his own works, other people did not neglect to make their market of them. The *London Daily Post* of the 14th of March, 1741, announces, for the benefit of Mrs. Clive, "a comedy, called the *Universal Passion*, ALTERED from Shakespeare, with entertainments of singing and dancing, and particularly the favourite airs of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, composed by Mr. Handel." Mrs. Clive was occasionally one of his singers. He wrote a song especially for her—"I like the amorous youth"—which she sung in that gallimaufry which was produced about 1736 or 1737.

The failure of *Hymen* and *Deidamia,* which was as complete as the others, was a lesson by which Handel profited. At last he recognized that John Bull (as the British nation is vulgarly called) had not yet the taste for that species of music, and he renounced it for ever. Up to that time he had written thirty-nine Italian operas, all in three acts, of which thirty-six had been produced in England. The list of these will be found in the "Catalogue." In this number I do not include *Orestes, Alexander Severus,* or *Lucius Verus,* which are pure pasticcios; nor *Terpsichore,* which is a ballet intermingled with songs; nor *Parnasso in Festa,* which is a serenata.

In spite of the experiments which had been lately tried, Lord Middlesex was the next to rise to the tempting bait of Italian opera. In 1741, this nobleman, in association with some of his friends, was not afraid to become an impresario, collected a new company, brought over Galuppi, as director and composer, and at great expense reopened the Haymarket, on the 31st of October, with *Alessandro in Persia,* a pasticcio, made by Galuppi from the works of Leo, Hasse, Pescetti, and Domenico Scarlatti.[1]

Horace Walpole informs us, in amusing terms, as to the means of obtaining success with which Lord Middlesex provided himself:—"*Downing Street, Oct.* 8, 1741, O.S.—The opera begins the day after the king's birthday. The singers are not permitted to sing till on the stage, so no one has heard them. The opera is to be in the French system of dancers, scenes, and dresses. The directors have already laid out great sums. They talk of a mob to silence the operas, as they did the French players, but it will be more difficult, for here half the young noblemen in town are engaged, and they will not be easily persuaded to humour the taste of the mobility. In short, they have already retained several eminent lawyers from the Bear Gardens to plead their defence."

The Bear Gardens was a resort for boxers. It is evident that the young scions of nobility of that time did not resort to half measures. Whatever well-born persons undertake, they

[1] Burney, page 445.

impart into it an elegance of form which disguises all defects of the substance.

According to Mainwaring,[1] and to Hawkins,[2] *Faramondo* and *Alexander Severus* were composed for Lord Middlesex, who paid £1000 for them; but we have the positive dates of their production in 1737 and 1738, and that of the entrance of that lord upon the functions of an impresario.[3] Horace Walpole's letter is also confirmatory of these facts. The *argumenta ad hominem* of the "eminent lawyers from the Bear Gardens" did not succeed in attracting "the mobility" to the opera, and Lord Middlesex was obliged to abandon it in 1744. He and his friends returned to the charge in 1747, but they were again compelled to close the fatal theatre in May, 1748, after having suffered considerable losses. Lord Middlesex did not even retire from the business without trouble. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1748, says:—"Was tried at the King's Bench, a cause, wherein an Italian singer was plaintiff, and a person of distinction defendant; the action was laid for a 1000 guineas, for one winter's performance at the Opera House, and the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff."

In 1750, Dr. Croza, who had made the operatic experiment, disappeared, leaving behind him innumerable creditors; and on the 15th of May, an advertisement appeared in the *Daily Advertiser*, signed Henry Gibbs, tea merchant, offering "£30 to any one who would secure the person of Dr. Croza."[4]

Such was the lot of all the speculators at the Haymarket. Burney says:—"The English appetite for Italian *friandises* was certainly palled by plenitude. Public curiosity being satisfied, as to new compositions and singers, the English returned to their homely food, *The Beggar's Opera*, and ballad farces on the same plan, with eagerness and comfort." This *dictum* is very severe, and, in my opinion, it would be more fit to say that the grace and

[1] Page 124. [2] Page 888.

[3] "Last Saturday (31 October) the operas began in the Haymarket. There was a prodigious audience, and a prodigious expense; for it is said the whole charge for six months will come to upwards of £16,000."—(*Faulkner's Journal*, of the 17th to the 21st of November, 1741, quoted by Mr. Townsend.)

[4] Burney.

lightness which characterise the greater proportion of Italian music, and make of it an almost sensual pleasure rather than a recreation of the intelligence, do not accord with the powerful but not delicate character of the English. They do not know how to take anything at the finger's end; and, to continue Burney's gastronomic figure, it may be said that they require roast beef even in music. But, musically speaking, roast beef is worth all the *friandises* in the world. Italian opera seems to have been always much less a taste than a fashion on the banks of the Thames. It has never enjoyed there any but a sickly life, like that of an exotic. How many speculators has it not ruined? In the present day it is only supported by fashion, and the large number of wealthy strangers who abound in such cities as London and Paris. To prove how factitious is the audience, it is only necessary to mention the exceedingly high prices for admission, and the regulation that a frock-coat cannot be admitted even into the pit. The free Briton who does not possess a dress-coat is forbidden to listen to an Italian song. Let it be added, that among these people, who with such obstinacy reproach the French with inconstancy, the operas which then obtained the greatest amount of success never, even counting revivals, went beyond twenty-five or thirty representations! The *Artaxerxes* of Hasse, sung by Farinelli, Senesino, Montagnana, and Sg^{a}. Cuzzoni (the finest collection of the artists of the epoch), is quoted as a prodigy for having exceeded forty representations in three years. Among the *volatile* French, on the contrary, the *Castor and Pollux* of Rameau, produced in 1737, held possession of the stage when Gluck arrived in 1746; Gluck, whose *Orpheus, Alceste, Armide*, and *Iphigenie en Tauride* numbered more than a hundred representations during his lifetime.

CHAPTER VIII.

1741—1742.

Journey to Ireland—Pope and Handel—A Letter by Handel—Performances at Dublin—"The Messiah"—Noble Use which the Author made of that Work.

The league which was banded against Handel was so powerful, that for three years his efforts to win fortune back were entirely thrown away. Even his finest English works did not escape this fatal destiny. In spite of his courage and activity, both of which were immense, and indefatigable as his genius, he could not retrieve himself from ruin. The position was a cruel one.

For a long time he had been wished for in Ireland. The Duke of Devonshire, the Lord Lieutenant (more generally called Viceroy at that time), had directly invited him to pay a visit to that country,[1] and the Irish professed great admiration for him. The numerous musical societies of this country had already often performed his works.[2] He might therefore expect to find

[1] Pue's *Occurrences* (Dublin Journal) of the 3rd of February, 1742. I have taken all the particulars, dates, and quotations of the journals, relative to Handel's visit to Dublin, from Mr. Townsend's excellent little book, which is minutely founded upon the most authentic documents. Mr. Townsend has left nothing for others to discover on the subject of this period of Handel's life. I heartily fulfil one of Mr. Townsend's wishes in recording that Mr. Finlayson, barrister-at-law of Dublin, contributed a great part of the researches relative to Handel's visit to Ireland. Mr. Finlayson was the first to examine the collection of *Faulkner's Journal*, which is in the old library founded by Archbishop Marsh, and he made extracts from it even before Mr. Townsend was aware of the existence of that collection. It was the kind communication of that discovery which gave Mr. Townsend the idea of writing his book, in which he warmly acknowledged that Mr. Finlayson, an enthusiastic Handelian, had furnished him with new documents.

[2] Among the subscribers to the first edition of *Alexander's Feast*, and also of that of the *Twelve Grand Concertos*, may be found "the Academy of Musick at Dublin, two copies." This society had as the leader of its orchestra, Lord Mornington, the father of the Duke of Wellington, and among its violoncellos, Lord Bellamont, Sir John Dillon, and Dean Burke, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam; among the flutes was Lord Lucan; at the harpsichord, Lady Freke, Dr. Quin, and the Right Honour-

there a public more enlightened, or at any rate more favourably disposed than that of London, and he resolved to make the journey.

Almost all the musical societies of Dublin, which were composed of amateurs, gave their entertainments for the furtherance of charitable objects. Handel put himself into communication with the most important of these, that "for the benefit and enlargement of poor distressed prisoners for debt in the several marshalseas of the city of Dublin," and promised to give an oratorio for its benefit; the members, on their part, promising the assistance of their chorus and their orchestra. This society did good with real devotedness. *Faulkner's Journal* of the 14th to the 17th of March, 1740 (O.S.), says, that during the past year[1] they "have already released 188 miserable persons of both sexes. They offered a reasonable composition to the creditors. And many of the creditors being in circumstances almost equally miserable with their debtors, due regard was paid by the committee to this circumstance." In 1743, the society caused it to be made known that it had liberated during the preceding year a hundred and forty-two prisoners of both sexes, whose debts amounted to £1225 17*s.*, besides £33 given to incarcerators, who were quite as poor as the incarcerated.

Imprisonment for debt, which is a relic of ancient slavery, has always been a barbarity, but at that time it was atrocious. The greater part of the unhappy prisoners lived only upon the public commiseration, which they frequently implored through the medium of the public journals, or otherwise. *Faulkner's Journal* for the 17th to the 21st of March, 1740, "records the deaths of two prisoners for debt in the Four Courts Marshalsea, from extreme want."[2]

able W. Brownlow, &c.—(Townsend). There is in existence a volume of *libretti* with this title: "As they are performed by the *Phylarmonic Society* in Dublin, for the improvement of church music, and the further support of Mercer's Hospital, printed in the year 1741."

[1] It should be remembered that before the reform of the calendar, which took place in England as late as 1752, the year ended on the 24th of March. O.S. means old style, before the reform, and N.S. new style, after the reform.

[2] Townsend, page 35. At the same time as "the Society for the Release of Prisoners for Debt" was in treaty with Handel, the managers of Mercer's Hospital

Handel, who throughout his life was full of humanity, must have taken a pleasure in arranging with a society whose charities alleviated such misery. He composed *The Messiah* in order to offer to the Irish, "to that generous and polite nation" (quoting his own expression from one of his letters), something new; and he set out about the 4th of November, 1741.

It is to this voyage, undertaken under such circumstances, that Pope makes allusion in his *Dunciad*, which was published in March, 1742:—

> "But soon, ah! soon, rebellion will commence,
> If music meanly borrows aid from sense.
> Strong in new arms, lo! giant Handel stands,
> Like bold Briareus, with his hundred hands;
> To stir, to rouse, to shake the soul, he comes,
> And Jove's own thunders follow Mars's drums.
> Arrest him, Empress, or you sleep no more—
> She heard, and drove him to the Hibernian shore."

Here Pope only gave expression to the opinion of his friends. By a singularity of nature, poet as he was, he was entirely destitute of all musical sense, and he confessed that it gave him no pleasure. Like a character in *Candide*, he considered it as the least disagreeable of noises; and he would have entirely agreed with a witty lady who was no great *dilettante*, and who, when the performances of Baillot's quatuors were praised to her, replied, "Ah! yes, the quatuors are very well; there are four persons amusing themselves." But when he saw that his literary companions (and particularly Arbuthnot) were such great admirers of Handel, he ranged himself on the composer's side with them. Mainwaring relates, that "Mr. Pope, the poet, one day asked his friend Dr. Arbuthnot, of whose knowledge in music he had a high idea, what was his real opinion in regard to Handel as a master of that science. The Doctor immediately replied,

(founded in 1734, by Mrs. Mercer), addressed themselves to Dr. Boyce, "composer to His Majesty." Boyce responded by writing expressly for them an anthem, which was performed for the benefit of the Hospital at St. Andrew's, otherwise called the Round Church, on the 10th of December, 1741, with the *Te Deum*, *Jubilate*, and one of Handel's *Coronation Anthems*.—(*Faulkner's Journal*, December 8th to 12th, 1741.) Handel, who had then been three weeks in Dublin, and was preparing his concerts, was waited upon by a deputation from the Hospital, who requested him to play the organ at this benefit. A charitable work never solicited his aid in vain.

'Conceive the highest that you can of his abilities, and they are much beyond anything that you can conceive.'"

Christopher Smith, being sensible that Pope had no taste for music, took an opportunity of inquiring what motive could induce him to celebrate Handel's praise so highly in his *Dunciad*. Pope replied, "That merit in every branch of science ought to be encouraged; that the extreme illiberality with which many persons had joined to ruin Handel, in opposing his operas, called forth his indignation; and though nature had denied his being gratified by Handel's uncommon talents in the musical line, yet when his powers were generally acknowledged, he thought it incumbent upon him to pay a tribute due to genius."[1]

In spite of everything, London permitted the man of genius to depart for Ireland. He was stayed by contrary winds in the ancient and picturesque city of Chester. "I was," says Burney, "at the public school in Chester, and very well remember seeing him smoke a pipe, over a dish of coffee, at the Exchange Coffee House; and being extremely curious to see so extraordinary a man, I watched him narrowly as long as he remained in Chester, where he stayed on account of the wind being unfavourable for his embarking at Parkgate." Wishing to employ this delay in trying over some pieces of his new oratorio, *The Messiah*, he sought for some one who could read music at sight, and a house-painter named Janson was indicated to him, as one of the best musicians attached to the Cathedral. A meeting took place, but poor Janson managed so badly that the irascible composer became purple with anger, and after swearing, as was his wont, in four or five languages at a time, cried out, "You schountrel! tit you not tell me dat you could sing at soite?" "Yes, sir," replied the good fellow, "but not *at first sight*." Handel upon this burst out laughing, and the rehearsal proceeded no further.[2]

He arrived in Dublin on the 18th of November, 1741, which fact was announced by *Faulkner's Journal* in the following manner:—"And last Wednesday, the celebrated Dr. Handell arrived here in the packet-boat from Holyhead, a gentleman

[1] *Anecdotes of Handel*, page 29. [2] Burney.

universally known by his excellent compositions in all kinds of music, and particularly for his *Te Deum, Jubilate, Anthems,* and other compositions in church-music (of which, for some years past, have principally consisted the entertainments in the Round Church, which have so greatly contributed to support the charity of Mercer's Hospital), to perform his oratorios, for which purpose he hath engaged Mr. Maclaine,[1] his wife, and several others of the best performers in the musical way."

After having been thus announced, the "gentleman universally known," of whom a *Doctor* was made for the nonce, announced in *Faulkner's Journal* for the 8th to the 12th of December,[2] that—"On Monday next, being the 14th of December (and every day following), attendance will be given at Mr. Handel's house in Abbey Street, near Liffey Street, from nine o'clock in the morning till two in the afternoon, in order to receive the subscription money for his six musical entertainments in the New Music Hall in Fishamble Street, at which time each subscriber will have a ticket delivered to him, which entitles him to three tickets each night, either for ladies or gentlemen. N.B.—Subscriptions are likewise taken in at the same place." Handel proposed, therefore, a subscription for six performances. The price is nowhere indicated; but there is reason to believe that it was half a guinea per ticket. *Faulkner's Journal* for the 15th of December announces that, on the 23d, *L'Allegro, Il Penseroso ed Il Moderato* will open the first performance, "with two concertos for several instruments, and a concerto on the organ. It will commence at seven o'clock," &c. The handbill of the fifth performance adds, "none but subscribers can be admitted, and no single tickets will be delivered, or money taken at the door." Great was the success. The *Journal* of the 26th of December says:—"Last Wednesday, Mr. Handel had his first oratorio at Mr. Neal's Music Hall in Fishamble Street, which was crowded with a more numerous and polite audience than ever was seen upon the like occasion, The performance was superior to anything of the kind in the

[1] Maclaine was an organist.

[2] It only appeared on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

kingdom before, and our nobility and gentry, to show their taste for all kinds of genius, expressed their great satisfaction, and have already given all imaginable encouragement to this grand music."

A few days afterwards, Handel wrote to Charles Jennens:[1]—

"Dublin, December 29, 1741.

"Sir,—It was with the greatest pleasure I saw the continuation of your kindness by the lines you was pleased to send me, in order to be prefixed to your oratorio, *Messiah*,[2] which I set to music before I left England. I am emboldened, Sir, by the generous concern you please to take in relation to my affairs, to give you an account of the success I have met here. The nobility did me the honour to make amongst themselves a subscription for six nights, which did fill a room of 600 persons, so that I needed not sell one single ticket at the door, and without vanity the performance was received with a general approbation. Signora Avolio, which I brought with me from London, pleases extraordinary. I have found another tenor voice which gives great satisfaction; the basses and counter-tenors are very good, and the rest of the chorus singers by my directions do exceedingly well; as for the instruments they are really excellent, Mr. Dubourgh being at the head of them; and the music sounds delightfully in this charming room, which puts me in such spirits, and my health being so good, that I exert myself on my organ with more than usual success. I opened with the *Allegro, Penseroso, ed il Moderato*, and I assure you that the words of the *Moderato* are vastly admired.[3] The audience being composed—besides the flower of ladies of distinction and other people of the greatest quality—of so many bishops, deans, heads of the Col-

[1] Lord Howe, who is the possessor of this letter, and also of that which will be found at the beginning of Chapter IX., communicated them to Mr. Townsend, with permission to print them. They are both in English.

[2] The mottoes here mentioned are the three following epigraphs:—"Majora canamus," *Pollio Virgil* ("Let us sing of greater things"). "And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness. God was manifested in the flesh, justified by the Spirit, seen of angels, preached among the Gentiles, believed in the world, and received up into glory."—*Timothy* iii. 16. "In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."—*Colossians* ii. 3.

[3] It has been already stated that Charles Jennens added *Il Moderato* to Milton's poems, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*.

lege, and the most eminent people in the law, as the chancellor, auditor-general, &c., all which are very much taken with the poetry, so that I am desired to perform it again the next time.[1] I cannot sufficiently express the kind treatment I receive here; but the politeness of this generous nation cannot be unknown to you, so I let you judge of the satisfaction I enjoy, passing my time with honour, profit, and pleasure. They propose already to have some more performances, when the six nights of the subscription are over, and my Lord Duke, the Lord Lieutenant (who is always present with all his family on those nights) will easily obtain a longer permission for me by his Majesty,[2] so that I shall be obliged to make my stay here longer than I thought. One request I must make to you, which is that you would insinuate my most devoted respects to my Lord and my Lady Shaftesbury; you know how much their kind protection is precious to me. Sir Windham Knatchbull will find here my respectful compliments. You will increase my obligations if, by occasion, you will present my humble service to some other patrons and friends of mine. I expect with impatience the favour of your news, concerning your health and welfare, of which I take a real share. As for the news of the operas in London, I need not trouble you, for all this town is full of their ill success, by a number of letters from your quarters to the people of quality here, and I can't help saying but that it furnishes great diversion and laughter. The first opera I heard myself before I left London, and it made me very merry all along my journey; and of the second opera, called *Penelope*,[3] a certain nobleman writes very

[1] Handel had more than once the good grace to attribute to the words all the success of his music. In a letter, which will shortly be quoted, and which is addressed to the same person, referring to Ireland, he says, "I could have given you an account how well *your Messiah* was received in that country."

[2] Handel doubtless continued to give lessons on the harpsichord to some member of the Royal Family, since he required the King's permission to absent himself. Dr. Rimbault has found the following entry in the "Accounts kept of the Establishment of their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Amelia and Caroline," the daughters of George the Second, in 1737:—"Musick Master, Mr. George Frederick Handell, £200 per annum."—Chamberlayne's *Magnæ Britanniæ Notitia*, 1737.

[3] *Penelope* was of Galuppi, and was only performed five times. It will be remembered that the Italian theatre was reopened in the month of October by Lord Middlesex, with *Alexander in Persia*, a pasticcio. It was this pasticcio which amused the rancour entertained by the author of *Hymen* and *Deidamia*.

jocosely:—'Il faut que je dise avec harlequin, notre *Penelope* n'est qu'une *Sallope*.'[1] But I think I have trespassed too much on your patience. I beg you to be persuaded of the sincere veneration and esteem with which I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"George Frideric Handel."

The correspondent of Charles Jennens gave therefore, from the 23d of December to the 7th of April, 1842, two series of six concerts each, which brought him in a great deal both of honour, of pleasure, and of money.[2] They consisted of *Acis*, *L'Allegro*, Dryden's *Ode*, *Alexander's Feast*, *Esther*, and *Hymen*, which Handel offered as a serenata. He had, for that purpose, shortened the recitatives, and reduced the three acts into two parts.[3]

[1] [Our *Penelope* is but a slut.] In French, the word *salope* is of the lowest vulgarity.

[2] Performances at Dublin—*First Series*:—

L'Allegro, with two concertos for several instruments, and an organ concerto, 23rd of December, 1741.

L'Allegro, with two concertos for several instruments, and an organ concerto, 13th of January, 1742.

Acis and Dryden's *Ode*, with several concertos on the organ and other instruments, 20th of January.

Acis and Dryden's *Ode*, with several concertos on the organ and other instruments, 27th of January.

Esther, with additions, and several concertos on the organ and other instruments, 3rd of February.

Esther, with additions, and several concertos on the organ and other instruments, 10th of February.

Second Series:—

Alexander's Feast, with additions, and several concertos on the organ, 17th of February.

Alexander's Feast, with additions, and several concertos on the organ, 2nd of March.

L'Allegro, with concertos, 17th of March.

Hymen (under the title of a serenata), with concertos on the organ and other instruments, 24th of March.

Hymen, with concertos on the organ and other instruments, 31st of March.

Supplemental Performances:—

Esther, with concertos on the organ, 7th of April.

General rehearsal of the *Messiah*, 8th of April.

Messiah, a new grand sacred oratorio, 13th of April.

Saul, with concertos on the organ, 25th of May.

Messiah, with concertos on the organ, 3rd of June.

[3] See "Catalogue."

The expenses of these entertainments could not have been considerable; for, according to the discoveries of Mr. Townsend, he obtained the assistance not only of the Society for the Relief of Prisoners, but also of the Philharmonic Society (which was devoted to the support of Mercer's Hospital), and even of the choristers of the cathedrals of Christ's Church and St. Patrick's. In return, the institutions protected by each society received a share of the proceeds of the performance, which Handel gave afterwards for their benefit.

It was after these twelve performances that, on the mid-day of Tuesday, the 13th of April, 1742, *The Messiah* was heard for the first time. The name never appeared in print before the following advertisement was inserted in *Faulkner's Journal* for the 23rd to the 27th of March:—"For the relief of the prisoners in the several jails, and for the support of Mercer's Hospital, in Stephen's Street, and of the charitable infirmary on the Inn's Quay, on Monday, the 12th of April, will be performed at the Musick Hall in Fishamble Street, Mr. Handel's new grand oratorio, called *The Messiah*, in which the gentlemen of the choirs of both cathedrals will assist, with some concertos on the organ, by Mr. Handel. Tickets to be had at the Musick Hall, and at Mr. Neal's in Christ Church Yard, at half a guinea each. N.B.—No person will be admitted to the rehearsal without a rehearsal ticket, which will be given gratis with the ticket for the performance when payed for." It is here specified that the concertos on the organ will be executed by "Mr. Handel;" but this was probably also the case at the preceding performances. Handel himself says, in his letter, "I exert myself on my organ with more than usual success."

Faulkner's Journal for the 6th to the 10th of April gives the following account of the rehearsal:—"Yesterday, Mr. Handel's new grand sacred oratorio, called *The Messiah*, was rehearsed at the Music Hall in Fishamble Street, to a most grand, polite, and crowded audience; and was performed so well, that it gave universal satisfaction to all present; and was allowed, by the greatest judges, to be the finest composition of music that ever was heard, and the sacred words as properly

adapted for the occasion. N.B.—At the desire of several persons of distinction, the above performance is put off to Tuesday next. The doors will be opened at eleven, and the performance begin at twelve. Many ladies and gentlemen who are well-wishers to this noble and grand charity, for which this oratorio was composed, request it as a favour, that the ladies who honour this performance with their presence would be pleased to come without hoops, as it will greatly increase the charity by making room for more company."

The *Dublin News Letter* for the 6th to the 10th of April says:—"Yesterday morning, at the Music Hall in Fishamble Street, there was a public rehearsal of *The Messiah*, Mr. Handel's new sacred oratorio, which, in the opinion of the best judges, far surpasses anything of that nature which has been performed in this or any kingdom. This elegant entertainment was conducted in the most regular manner, and to the entire satisfaction of the most crowded and polite assembly. For the benefit of three very important public charities, there will be a grand performance of this oratorio on Tuesday next, in the forenoon; the doors will be opened at eleven, and the performance begins at twelve o'clock. N.B.—At the desire of several persons of distinction, Monday being cathedral day, the performance is put off till Tuesday."

On the morning after the musical solemnity, *Faulkner's Journal*, the *Dublin Gazette*, and the *Dublin News Letter* published uniformly the following account of the performance, which had evidently been sent to them. I give it literally:—"On Tuesday last, Mr. Handel's sacred grand oratorio, *The Messiah*, was performed in the New Music Hall in Fishamble Street; the best judges allowed it to be the most finished piece of music. Words are wanting to express the exquisite delight it afforded to the admiring crowded audience. The sublime, the grand, and the tender, adapted to the most elevated, majestic, and moving words, conspired to transport and charm the ravished heart and ear. It is but justice to Mr. Handel, that the world should know he generously gave the money arising from this grand performance

to be equally shared by the Society for Relieving Prisoners, the Charitable Infirmary,[1] and Mercer's Hospital, for which they will ever gratefully remember his name; and that the gentlemen of the two choirs, Mr. Dubourg, Mrs. Avolio, and Mrs. Cibber, who all performed their parts to admiration, acted also on the same disinterested principle, satisfied with the deserved applause of the public, and the conscious pleasure of promoting such useful and extensive charity. There were above seven hundred people in the room, and the sum collected for that noble and pious charity amounted to about £400, out of which £127 goes to each of the three great and pious charities."

Mrs. Cibber has left, in *The Messiah*, the *souvenirs* of an incomparable pathos. An old album, containing cuttings from the journals, and entitled "Fragmenta," which is in the library of the British Museum, has, among others, the following anecdote:—"Mrs. Cibber, in *The Messiah*, in Dublin, executed her airs so pathetically, that Dr. Delany, the great friend and companion of Swift, exclaimed, as he sat in the boxes, 'Woman, for this, be all thy sins forgiven.'" This anecdote is taken out of a journal, of which the collector gives neither the name nor the date.

A second performance being immediately demanded, *The Messiah* was sung once more in Dublin, with the addition of organ concertos, on the 3rd of June following, being "the last of Mr. Handel's performances during his stay in the kingdom." At the request of "many persons of the nobility," he had given *Saul* during the interval, on the 25th of May, "with organ concertos, tickets half a guinea."

Let it be recorded, as a matter of detail, that at every important performance the advertisement beseeches the ladies to come without their hoops. This fashion seemed even to cotemporaries to be as troublesome as it was ridiculous. In *Faulkner's Journal*, from the 31st of January to the 4th of February, 1744, the committee of the Charitable Musical Society, in announcing *The Messiah* for the 7th, once more entreats the ladies "to lay

[1] Founded in 1726, at the expense of six surgeons.

aside their hoops," representing that if they will abandon that fashion "for one evening, however ornamental, the hall will contain an hundred persons more, with full ease." When the Festival of the 1st of May, 1790, took place at Westminster, a handbill, signed "John Ashley, by order of the Directors," containing the regulations for the carriages and other encumbrances, stated also, "no ladies will be admitted with hats, and they are particularly requested to come without feathers, and very small hoops, if any." It seems as if these fashionable follies were chronic, for a similar announcement by the Sacred Harmonic Society, *apropos* of crinolines, would not be out of place at the present time.

Mainwaring asserts that the great oratorio was produced in London for the first time, and was received badly—"Even his *Messiah* had met in London with a cold reception."[1] Burney makes the same statement in his *Account of the Commemoration;* but he afterwards came to be of a contrary opinion when he wrote the fourth volume of his *History of Music,* but without any very great proof. Thus it is that, for more than a century, the biographers have, one after another, blindly repeated Mainwaring's assertion. Mr. Westrop alone (in his preface to his edition of *The Messiah,* published by Purday) has taken the trouble to add some particulars: he very carefully fixes the date of the fall at the 12th of September, 1741—precisely two days before the oratorio was finished! Hawkins explains that *The Messiah* was first of all given at Covent Garden, in 1741, under the name of *A Sacred Oratorio.* "As it consisted chiefly of choruses, and the airs contained in it were *greatly inferior* to most of his operas and former oratorios, it was but coldly received by the audience."[2] Sir John Hawkins, although not devoid of a certain amount of taste, and although he was a great Handelian, had more than one opinion equally eccentric. He says, for example, that the magnificent air in *Judas Maccabæus,* "Come, ever smiling Liberty," was written "to fascinate the vulgar!"[3]

[1] Page 131. [2] Page 890 (358 of the 5th vol. of the first edition).
[3] Page 913.

In spite of *the great inferiority* of its airs, and whatever may be the confidence which Mainwaring and Hawkins deserve, it is certain that the masterpiece of sacred music did not fail at its first performance in London. The Irishman, Mr. Townsend, has cleared that city from such a stain, by putting beyond all manner of doubt the fact of the first performance taking place in Dublin.

Some discussion upon the point will certainly not appear out of place in a work like this.

And, in the first place; the Rev. John Mainwaring had himself seen nothing of that which he recounts, and, being still very young for a writer, he made statements without verifying them. The appearance of *The Messiah* dated twenty years back when he wrote his book, and the information which he had respecting the circumstances which attended it was derived from nothing but rumour. He states, for example, that, when Handel arrived in Dublin, "the first step was to perform his *Messiah* for the benefit of the city prison."[1] Whereas, on the contrary, we know from the journals, that it was *the last step*. The anecdote about Janson, at Chester, implies that the oratorio had never been given. Burney says expressly, that "he wished to prove some books that had been hastily transcribed."[2] If the work had been already performed, Handel would have had no need to verify the copies at Chester. All the Dublin advertisements, whether of the rehearsal or of the performances, speak of it as the "*new* grand oratorio;" an expression which is not applied to any other of the works which he produced at Dublin. *Faulkner's Journal*, as we have seen, in announcing the general rehearsal, adds:—"... The noble and great charity *for which this oratorio* WAS COMPOSED." Even supposing that Handel had not been as honest a man as he was, he would not have suffered such an announcement to appear in public if *The Messiah* had already been heard in London. Moreover, contradiction was too easy. In the third place, we find that in his letter to Jennens of the 29th of December, 1742, he says, "I had received the lines you was pleased to send me, in order to be prefixed to your oratorio *Messiah*, which I set to

[1] Page 132. [2] Page 26 of *The Commemoration*.

musick before I left England." It is evident that if the oratorio had been produced in London, the author of the words would have had no more mottoes to add, and the writer of the letter would not have had to employ that expression, "which I set to musick before I left England."

There are other proofs not less conclusive. The MS. of *The Messiah* is inscribed: "Ausgefüllt den 14 September" (finished on the 14th of September); that of *Samson:* "End of the first act, September 29." As Handel finished the first act of *Samson* on the 29th of September, he must have commenced it, at least, on the 21st or the 22nd at the latest. How was it possible, between the 14th and 22nd, to copy, rehearse, and perform the immense score, which was itself improvised in twenty-three days? Besides this, the public journals of Dublin announce formally his arrival in that city on the 18th of November. Allowing a fortnight for the journey, including the stoppage at Chester (and the King's viceroy, with a favourable wind, and sixteen relays of horses, required five days for the same journey), he must have quitted London about the 4th of November. Moreover, it is not possible to admit that *The Messiah* could have appeared between the 29th of October (the date of the completion of *Samson*) and the 4th of November, in the midst of the preparations for his journey, and above all the journey of a manager who was taking several artists with him—notably Sg^a. Avolio. Finally, not one of the London journals announces *The Messiah*, either in September, October, or November, 1741. Burney has already stated this, and I affirm it once more, having verified the fact. Mr. Cradock relates the following:—"In my early youth I was at times present at a musical treat, chiefly given by amateurs at Mr. Jennyng's house, at Gopsal, in our county (Leicestershyre), who possessed a good organ, with Handel's portrait in front of it, where Handel himself had frequently presided when the words of *The Messiah*[1] were first selected. The oratorio was soon afterwards brought out in London, and the great

[1] From this it may be concluded that Handel had something to do with the compilation of *The Messiah*. It may be understood, from these words, that he who presided at the organ had also a voice in the choice of the words.

'Hallelujah Chorus'[1] was intended for the conclusion; but finding that the second act hung heavily, and that some disappointment began to be expressed, Handel instantly rushed forward, and commanded the last chorus to be then performed. This was most triumphantly encored, and this expedient completely saved that inspired oratorio."[2]

If this story be true, Handel must have composed *The Messiah* at Gopsall, and have come "soon afterwards" to produce it at London. Here we have, in addition, a long journey to place between the 14th of September, when *The Messiah* was concluded, and the 22nd, when *Samson* was commenced. And when could the composer find time to produce his new oratorio *soon after* the 14th of September, when he was writing the great score of *Samson* between the 22nd of that month and the 29th of October? I even refuse to believe that *The Messiah* was written at Gopsall, as many have asserted upon the faith of Cradock's obscure statement. The interval between the two masterpieces is too short, and the distance from London to Gopsall is too long for that to be credible. At that time, certainly not less than two days were required for this journey of 115 to 120 miles. As for the story about the "Hallelujah Chorus," it is very dramatic, but nothing more. Great as this chorus is, it could never have saved anything with an audience which found the act which it terminates "hang heavily." It has never occupied any other place than that which it now holds. In the original MS. it closes the second act, which is signed and dated. From the very first performance the oratorio had its "Hallelujah" at the end of the second act, and its admirable "Amen"[3] at

[1] *Hallelujah* is a Hebrew word, derived from *Hallelu* (praise), and *Jah*, the abbreviation of *Jehovah* (He that is eternal). Jehovah is the name under which the Divine Spirit revealed itself to Moses on Mount Sinai. It is a sacred name with the Jews, who only pronounce it on great religious solemnities, and with the greatest reverence. The Hebraist who has furnished me with this explanation adds, that *Hallelujah* is pronounced *Hallelouyah*, but it is written *Hallelujah*—the Hebrew alphabet not containing the letter *y*. So the English, who preserve the orthography of foreign words, are correct in writing *Hallelujah*. It is said that it was St. Jerome who introduced it into the music of the Romish Church, having taken it from the Greek form of worship; in which, I believe, it is used only once a year.

[2] *Literary and Miscellaneous Memoirs*, by Cradock, page 124.

[3] This "Amen" is a work not less magnificent than the "Hallelujah;" yet, at

the end of the third. It should not be forgotten that Cradock, who was born in 1742, only spoke by oral tradition, and a tradition gathered in "early youth," to which he did not himself attach any importance. He did not even know how to spell the name of Jennens.

Mr. Gardiner, in attempting to refute some of Mr. Townsend's statements, says:—"There can be no doubt that *The Messiah* was first performed in London. I learnt it from a conversation I had with Mr. Cradock, who told me that Mr. Mainwaring *was present at the performance*, and that at the end of the second part he heard Handel call out, 'Go to the Hallelujah!' This originally was the finishing chorus," &c.[1] Mr. Gardiner repeats this in a letter to the *Dublin Daily Express*, of the 14th of June, 1853, adding that Cradock "had the fact from Dr. Mainwairing himself." It is certain that Cradock, in his *Literary and Miscellaneous Memoirs*, speaks of Mainwaring several times, and calls him "my much honoured friend;" but in truth he quotes his friend without much authority. In his own memoirs,[2] the editor, Nichols, says in a note, "Mainwaring also published anonymously a life of Handel (8vo, 1760). He died at Cambridge in April, 1807, aged seventy-two, and was succeeded as professor by the learned Dr. Marsh." The same note is also to be found in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*.[3] John Mainwaring was therefore *six years old* at the time (1741) when he witnessed that dramatic scene of "Go to the Hallelujah!" And the memory of this child of six years becomes all the more surprising when we find that, on arriving at a reasonable age, he fixes the first performance of *The Messiah*, the particulars of which he so well recollected, at the 12th of April, 1741,[4] which is more than four months before Handel had written a note of it.

each performance of it, the more vulgar portion of the audience hastens toward the door in order to get the most convenient places for going out. They will not listen to this marvellous piece themselves, and the noise of their procession prevents persons of good taste from enjoying it. There should be an act of Parliament to punish every person who rises from his seat before the last note of the "Amen," with a deprivation of hearing *The Messiah* for twelve calendar months.

[1] *Music and Friends*, vol. iii. page 361.

[2] Vol. iv. page 228. [3] Vol. viii. page 380. [4] Page 152.

Mr. Hogarth also supports the assertion as to the first performance being in London during September, 1741:— "The MS.," says he, "bears 'fine dell' oratorio 7bre 12th,' and below is written 'ausgefüllt den 14 dieses,' *that is to say, performed on the 14th.*" It has been pointed out, however, that the meaning of the word *ausgefüllt* is not *performed,* but *filled up, completed.* Handel, in composing, only wrote the subject and the bass, then he filled up the orchestration afterwards.[1] It was this last operation which he noted, with his habitual and minute exactness, by the word "ausgefüllt," *filled up.* If he had intended to signify that it was *performed,* he would have written *ausgeführt.* One is only astonished that musicians, like Mr. Hogarth and M. Fétis (who repeats the same thing), did not reflect upon the physical impossibility of mounting such a work *in two days.* The rectified translation of the word "ausgefüllt" is confirmed by another proof, taken from the MSS. At the end of *Berenice* we find "fine dell' opera, January 18th, 1737;" and below "ausgufullen," which signifies *to be filled up,* and lower still, "gcendiget den 27th January, 1737," that is to say, *finished on the 27th of January.*

And to the preceding may be added the personal deposition of Dr. Quin, of Dublin, who knew Handel when he visited Ireland. "*The Messiah,*" he says, "I am thoroughly convinced, was performed in Dublin *for the first time,* and with the greatest applause. Mrs. Cibber and Signora Avolio were the principal performers. These, with the assistance of the choristers of St. Patrick's Cathedral and Christ Church, formed the vocal band; and Dubourg, with several good instrumental performers, composed a very respectable orchestra."[2] The details of this testimony, which was given in 1788, being all proved to be exact (by authentic documents discovered since), give great credibility to the principal statement.

One word more. The *Daily Advertiser* of the 31st of March, 1743, contains some verses upon *The Messiah,* which will presently be quoted. The insertion of these verses on the 31st of March, 1743, is another proof in support of my opinion, for it

[1] See "Catalogue." [2] Burney, page 662.

perfectly corresponds with the three performances of that year; and it is to be remarked, that the author of the verses calls them, "Extempore on Mr. Handel's New Oratorio." Certainly, if the work had made its appearance in 1741, the defender of Handel would not have qualified it as "*new*," in 1743.

There is no longer any doubt, therefore, that *The Messiah* was performed for the first time at Dublin, in 1742, and that it was *not*, as has been a thousand times asserted, produced in London in 1741.

Handel's journey to Ireland was one of the most agreeable episodes of his life. In addition to the profits which he derived from it, he was received everywhere with cordiality. An Irishman related to Burney that "there were many noble families there with whom Mr. Handel lived in the utmost degree of friendship and familiarity." During his stay, he indulged in a short period of repose. Although he gave his last entertainment on the 3rd of June, he left Ireland only on the 13th of August, after a sojourn of nine months, leaving to that noble country the glory of having worthily appreciated all his masterpieces, and of having recommenced his fortune.

His departure was mentioned in the journals. The *Dublin News's Letter* for the 10th to the 14th of August, 1742, announced—"Yesterday, the Right Hon. the Lady King, the celebrated Mr. Handel, and several other persons of distinction, embarked on board one of the Chester traders, in order to go to Park Gate." And in *Faulkner's Journal* for the 14th to the 17th of August—"Last week, Lady King, widow of the late Rt. Hon. Sir Harry King, Bart., and the celebrated Mr. Handel, so famous for his excellent compositions and fine performances, with which he entertained this town in the most agreeable manner, embarked for England."

"Ce Monsieur—de Faulkner—était un fort brave homme."—*Le Joueur.*

In spite of his long sojourn in Ireland, we are informed by Mr. Townsend that Handel printed nothing whilst he was there. The only thing which he appears to have composed there is a little piece for the harpsichord, called *Forest Music.* Mr. Townsend heard mention made of this for the first time in 1851,

from an old lady who gave him a copy. Handel had written it for a person who was a friend of this lady. He then discovered that Dr. Petrie, an eminent Irish antiquary, and a great collector of old national ballads, possessed a copy of *Forest Music*, which had been communicated to him fifty years before, as being by Handel. This little piece may therefore be confidently accepted, although the MS. is lost. Moreover, the manner of the master is to be recognized in it. The first movement is a joyous *reveillée*, like that of hunters going to the forest. In the second is an imitation of the Irish national music. "It would seem," says Mr. Townsend, "as if, by interweaving the national music of Ireland with his own, he meant to pay a graceful compliment to the country where he was receiving a very cordial welcome."

Since the publication of Mr. Townsend's book has brought *Forest Music* back to recollection, it has been published in Dublin by Mr. John Smith, and in London by Mr. Lonsdale, arranged for the piano. It had already been published in Dublin twenty-five or thirty years ago, "with full parts for a military band."

I shall return to the Life of Handel in the following chapter; but for the present, I propose to follow the history of *The Messiah*. On his return to the English capital, Handel gave it three times at Covent Garden, during the season of 1743, on the 23rd, the 25th, and the 29th of March.[1] At that time, and up to 1749, he announced it by no other title than "a sacred oratorio." Some say that he adopted that designation "because the words are taken literally from the Holy Scriptures." This cannot be so; because he had not concealed the name at Dublin, and *Israel in Egypt*, which is in the same case, always appeared under its real title. He was afraid, we must believe, lest by the assistance of the powerful enemies which were banded against him, the hypocrites might be able to arouse some scandal on seeing the name of *The Messiah* upon a play-bill. But if so, the precaution did not save him; for we still can discover traces of this new obstacle which was raised up against him. The

[1] *London Daily Post.*

Daily Advertiser of the 31st of March, 1743, contains the following lines:—

"Wrote extempore by a Gentleman, on reading the *Universal Spectator*, on Mr. Handel's new oratorio, performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden.

"Cease, zealots, cease to blame these heavenly lays,
For seraphs fit to sing Messiah's praise,
Nor for your trivial argument assign
The theatre not fit for praise divine!
These hallow'd lays to music give new grace,
To virtue awe, and sanctify the place,
To harmony like *his* celestial pow'r is given,
To exalt the soul from earth, and make of hell a heaven."

The *Universal Spectator*, which I have not been able to consult, had evidently accused the composer of sacrilege at least, and Handel had perhaps been compelled to retreat before the outcries of false devotees. Many years afterwards, when he was master of the situation, he returned to the Dublin form of announcement, as in the *General Advertiser* for the 23rd of March, 1749—"At the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, this day, will be performed a sacred oratorio called *Messiah*, with a concerto." From that moment the journals announced the masterpiece under its own name.

We have seen from the analysis of the first performance which was sent to the principal journals in Dublin, that musical æsthetics were not very far advanced in the eighteenth century; it is one of the longest articles consecrated to Handel's works which I have met with. The journals of that time, although very numerous, confined themselves to political news, to scandalous chronicles, and to the facts and movements of the court; but they were all far from being sufficiently enlightened to take much heed of the productions of art. The *London Daily Post* of the 17th of January, 1739, says:—"Last night, the King, his Royal Highness the Duke (Cumberland), and their Royal Highnesses the Princesses, were at the oratorio in Haymarket. It met with general applause by a numerous and splendid audience." This is all the account that is given of the first performance of a work like *Saul;* for it is no less a work than *Saul* which is referred to, albeit it is not named! And even these few words would not have been consecrated to

this fact, if "the King and their Royal Highnesses" had not been there! At that time there was no such thing as criticism. In turning over all the public journals of London, from 1741 to 1743, I do not find a line about the performances of *The Messiah* at Dublin, or any mention made of its first performance in London—not a word to inform us as to how it was received. It did not even obtain the alms of such a brief notice as was contemptuously accorded to *Saul*, for all that the King was present. One fact, however, is related by Dr. Beattie, in a letter dated Aberdeen, the 24th of May, 1780, and addressed to the Rev. Dr. Laing:—"I lately heard an anecdote which deserves to be put in writing, and which you will be glad to hear. When Handel's *Messiah* was first performed, the audience was exceedingly struck and affected by the music in general; but when that chorus struck up, 'For the Lord God omnipotent,' in the Alleluia, they were so transported, that they all together, with the King (who happened to be present), started up and remained standing till the chorus ended. This anecdote I had from Lord Kinnoul."[1] It is from this circumstance that the custom has arisen of rising during the performance of this piece, a custom which is sometimes erroneously attributed to a religious feeling. There are hallelujahs in almost every oratorio, but the audience only rises during the performance of that in *The Messiah*—"a homage," as Mr. Macfarren well says, "which is as honourable to the English public as it is worthy of the immortal composer."

The Messiah furnishes another example, though not so happy, of the power of custom in Great Britain. In spite of the respect which is shown here for the works of great masters, and especially for those of Handel, and above all for *The Messiah*, the conductors are in the habit of putting a bass voice to the air "But who may abide," which is destined for a contralto. This air is composed for a bass voice in the original MS., and also in the volume of *Sketches of the Messiah*;[2] but Handel has written over it in pencil, "Un tono più alto ex (in) E, for Mr. Lowe in tenor-cliff." The name of

[1] *Beattie's Letters.* 2 vols. 32mo, 1820. Vol. ii. page 77.

[2] See in the "Catalogue" for the *List of Manuscripts.*

the same singer is marked in ink for the tenor air, "He was cut off." All the copies of *The Messiah*, by Smith, give "But who may abide" for an alto, and we should bow to Mr. Smith, who lived with his master to the day of his death. However that may be, Mr. Macfarren has somewhat compromised his reputation as a good critic, by saying that "Handel had no idea of assigning this air to a bass, as it is now the most unmusicianly custom to do."[1]

All the conductors commit also the extraordinary contradiction of confiding to a soprano the last two verses of the magnificent recitative with an air, "Thy rebuke;" leaving the first two to the tenor voice, for which all the four verses were written. In the same manner they divide the air, "He shall feed his flock."[2] And, nevertheless, as the two recitatives are a narration, nothing could be more unreasonable than to give the beginning to one voice, and the end to another. Every musician complains of these violations of the text and of good sense, which were (according to Burney) committed as early as the Commemoration of 1784. Every critic has condemned them; no one knows to what tradition to attribute them; and yet ask any conductor why he persists in them, and he will tell you "it is the custom." In England, more than anywhere else, these four unmeaning words have a sacramental power. They consecrate many an inconsistency, from the disarrangement of Handel's scores down to the little grey horsehair wigs which the judges and barristers set a top of their heads, and which are enough to tempt Themis herself from her awful gravity.

On the 15th of December, 1854, the Sacred Harmonic Society decided upon breaking through the bonds of custom, by

[1] Preface to the libretto for the Sacred Harmonic Society, page 8.—Strange whims of this sort are not rare. At the York Festival of 1823, it was Madame Catalani who sang "Comfort ye my people," and "Every valley," which are written for the tenor. She also sang "I know that my Redeemer liveth;" transposing it, "to the great damage," says Crosse, "both of the character and the effect of that admirable composition."

[2] "'He shall feed His flock' is written by Handel entirely in the key of B flat, and not with the first part in F, as usually performed and printed in modern editions. This alteration is most unwarrantable and absurd."—*Preface to The Messiah*, by Dr. Rimbault, in the edition for the Handel Society.

giving "But who may abide" to a contralto, and the whole of "Thy rebuke" to a tenor; but still "He shall feed his flock" was divided between two different voices. Let us hope that they will courageously pursue their legitimate restorations to the end. And they will do well also to renounce an innovation in which they indulge, that of beginning the chorus, "For unto us a child is born," *pianissimo*. It is true that the effect is rather happy, and the new version may be explained as a kindly wish on the part of the chorus not to disturb the repose of the mother; but we find no indication of this monthly-nurse precaution either in the MS. or in any of the copies made by Smith during the life-time of the author; and good judges object that the people, in hearing of the birth of the Messiah, would naturally give full and spontaneous expression to their joy without seeking for effects. Handel has only marked the instruments *piano* when they accompany the voices, and he afterwards threw forth the whole power of the orchestra at the word "wonderful," not for the purpose of producing a contrast, but to impress it with an additional value. As he imagined it so, no one has a right to change it: it is no small matter to alter the character of a movement in music, and, above all, a movement by Handel, who was so profound a thinker.

For some time past, the orchestral conductors have manifested a great passion for contrasts between *pianissimo* and *fortissimo*. That in the "Unto us a child is born" (which is attributed to Mr. Costa) doubtless arises from the influence of that deviation from good taste. The Sacred Harmonic Society is not justified in persisting in it; for this well-managed Society is assuredly the first of its kind in the world; its acts have great weight, and everything which it does is important, as emanating from a body which enjoys and deserves great consideration. In such a position it is bound to give good and not bad examples. *Bonne renommée oblige*. These contrasts may be agreeable to the ear, but they are not natural; it is better to remain in the simple and in the true for the present, and, above all, to keep faithfully to that which the masters have written for the past. Even if such licences were not always shocking, they would lead to dangerous

exaggerations and sad abuses. Mr. Hullah has lately deemed it expedient to introduce a *pianissimo* into two choruses of *Judas Maccabæus*, "Fallen is the foe," and "We hear, we hear." And yet if ever chorus ought to be sung with full voices, it is in each of these cases: "Fallen is the foe; so fall thy foes, O Lord, where warlike Judas wields his righteous sword." "We hear, we hear thy pleasing dreadful call; and follow thee to conquest; if to fall—for laws, religion, liberty we fall." Let me ask if there is a single word in these war-cries that at all requires the prettinesses of a *pianissimo?*

However great may have been the enthusiasm at its first performance, it must be confessed that the "Sacred Oratorio" does not appear to have overcome at once in London the resistance of the old prejudices which were opposed to the composer. Performed on the 23rd, the 25th, and the 29th of March, 1743, it did not make its appearance in 1744, and was only included among the performances of 1745, on the 9th and the 11th of April; after which it was heard of no more until 1749. Performances so infrequent, and a suspension so prolonged, indicate an incredible amount of coolness on the part of the public. Is not this what Mainwaring and Hawkins meant when they spoke of the failure of *The Messiah?* It is certain that the complete triumph of this work does not date further back than the 12th of April, 1750, when it was performed for the seventh time at Covent Garden. Perhaps also, it would be more just to accuse the bigots of conspiracy than the town of want of taste. We have seen that they raised a great outcry against bringing the *Passion* upon the stage. It may be that Handel was obliged to conceal his masterpiece in order to avoid their declamations, which would only have supplied his enemies with new arms against him; it may be that he waited until the progress of the times and the advance of reason should come to his aid. What is stronger to fight against than the prejudice of ignorance; or what more difficult to overcome than the spirit of misplaced zeal!

The Messiah, which Herder called "a Christian epopee in musical sounds," offers yet another singularity, namely, that it did not altogether give satisfaction to Charles Jennens, the

author of the libretto. This person, writing to one of his friends a letter, dated "Gopsall, 30th of August, 1745," says—"I shall show you a collection I gave Handel, called *Messiah*, which I value highly, and he has made a fine entertainment of it, though not so good as he might and ought to have done. I have with great difficulty made him correct some of the grossest faults in the composition. But he retained his overture obstinately, in which there are some passages far unworthy of Handel, but much more unworthy of *The Messiah*."[1] What a curious example of the relations which exist between cotemporaries! Is it not amusing to find Mr. Jennens, rich and cultivated as he may have been, taking this tone upon himself, and treating in this manner a work which is loftier than the Pyramids? Is it not astonishing that he should presume to talk of "gross faults" in the compositions of Handel?

Gross faults apart, *The Messiah* is universally recognized as the masterpiece of the master. Whoever has listened to his music will admit that its most distinctive character is the sublime. No one, without exception, neither Beethoven nor Mozart, has ever risen nearer to the grandeur of the ideal than Handel did, and he was never more sublime than in *The Messiah*. And, remembering this, read the dates, which are inscribed with his own hand upon the manuscript:—

"Commenced on the 22nd of August, 1741.
End of the first part, on the 28th of August.
End of the second, on the 6th of September.
End of the third, on the 12th of September, 1741.
Filled up [that is to say, orchestrized] on the 14th."

This superhuman work was therefore accomplished in twenty-three days! And Handel was then fifty-six years old!

It is a strange phenomenon: when men of genius are to die young, they complete their masterpieces at once. Mozart rendered up his divine soul at thirty-nine; Raphael painted "The School of Athens" when he was twenty-five, and the "Transfiguration" at thirty-seven; Paul Potter, his "Bull" at

[1] From the original letters of Jennens in the possession of Lord Howe.—(Townsend, page 119.)

twenty-two; Rossini composed *The Barber of Seville* when he was twenty-three, *William Tell* at thirty-seven, and afterwards wrote no more. If these men had lived longer, it would have been impossible for them to surpass themselves. Great artists, on the other hand, who are destined to have long lives, are slow in production, or rather they produce their best things in the decline of life. Handel composed his greatest works—*The Funeral Anthem, Israel, The Messiah, Samson, The Dettingen Te Deum,* and *Judas Maccabæus*—after he was fifty-two years old. Rameau was fifty-four when he began to write for the theatre. Gluck had not composed one of his immortal operas when he was fifty. Haydn was an old man of sixty-five years when he produced *The Creation.* Murillo became Murillo only at forty years of age. Poussin was seventy when he painted "The Deluge," which is the most poetically great of all his noble pictures. Michael Angelo counted more than sixty years when he encrusted his incomparable fresco of "The Last Judgment" upon the walls of the Sixtine Chapel, and he was eighty-seven years old when he raised the cupola of St. Peter's to the heavens.

Handel made many retouches in *The Messiah.* Dr. Rimbault has given an analysis of the different changes in his preface to the edition for the Handel Society.[1] Those who read

[1] Dr. Rimbault was not in entire possession of the truth as to "How beautiful are the feet." Altogether there are four versions of this in Handel's own handwriting. Mr. Lacy has analysed these for me from the MSS. in Buckingham Palace. The first (such as it is in the body of the MS.) is an air for a soprano in G minor. It is composed of two strophes, "How beautiful" and "Their sound is gone." The words are from the well-known text:—"How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring great tidings of good things." The first version is engraved by Walsh, with the two strophes, and it is that which is now sung, suppressing the second strophe, which prolongs it considerably. The suppression must be a very remote and authorized tradition, for Handel himself detached the strophe, "Their sound is gone," and made it into a separate air, entirely new, which is written at the end of his MS. of *The Messiah.* He afterwards transformed this last air into a chorus, as it is now sung. This chorus is also at the end of the MS. In the second version, which is also at the end of the manuscript, the air, "How beautiful," without the strophe, "Their sound is gone," is arranged as a duet in D minor for two alto voices, followed by a chorus on the words, "Break forth into joy; thy God reigneth." The words of the second version, differing slightly from the first, are, "How beautiful are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings of salvation, that saith unto Sion, thy God reigneth." The third version (which is in the quarto volume of MS. *Sketches*) is also a duet, but with many changes. It has besides, by way of introduction, the commencement of the overture of the eighth *Chandos Anthem.* The

these technical details will perceive that the great man did not spare his labour in perfecting his most successful works.

It is to be noted, that Handel drew the movements of four choruses in this oratorio ("His yoke is easy," "He shall purify," "For unto us," "All we like sheep") from two Italian chamber ducts, which he had composed a month previously.[1] The duet, "O Death! where is thy sting?" is also partly drawn from another chamber duet, "Se tu non lasci amore."

The Commemoration of 1784, at which *The Messiah* was performed twice, seems to have given it a new splendour. Its popularity became so great, that the Rev. John Newton published two enormous octavo volumes of sermons, under the title of "Messiah; Fifty Expository Discourses on the series of *scriptural passages* which form the subject of the celebrated ORATORIO of Handel, preached in the years 1784 and 1785, in the Parish Church of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street."

words exhibit a very slight alteration—"How beautiful are the feet of them that bringeth good tidings of peace, tidings of salvation; that say unto Sion," &c.; chorus, "Break forth," &c. The words, thus altered, are printed in a handbook of *The Messiah*, dated Dublin, 1757, and they are there marked, "Duett and chorus." I am indebted for a MS. copy of that handbook to the obliging kindness of Mr. Townsend. "And lo! the angels," which Handel transformed into an accompanied recitative: as it is now sung, is marked in the libretto, "Song," just as it was originally. I remark precisely the same thing in a *Messiah* dated 1759, "as performed at the theatre in Oxford." Nevertheless, in the handbooks of 1757 and 1759, "as performed at Covent Garden"—that is to say, under the direction of Handel—"How beautiful," remains a song; "Their sound," a chorus; and "Lo, the angels," an accompanied recitative, exactly as they were in the handbook of 1749. It is singular that in the provinces people adhered to two forms which the composer had most decidedly renounced.

The three versions of "How beautiful," mentioned above, are based upon the same melody, and are all in the minor key. The fourth, which has hitherto remained unknown, has been discovered by Mr. Lacy in the quarto volume of MS. *Sketches*. It is a magnificent air, entirely new, in D, for a soprano, and is set to the words of the third version.

Arnold gives, in the appendix to his edition of *The Messiah*, the G minor air (with the second strophe left out), merely transposed into C minor. This might almost be considered a fifth version; but he is the first who furnishes it, and it may be asked on what authority he has founded it, for it cannot be discovered anywhere in the MS., or in the large copy by Smith, which is at Buckingham Palace; or in the one which forms part of Mr. Lennard's collection; or in that inherited from Smith, which all have the air in G minor. Although Dr. Rimbault has accepted this fifth version, and has published it, its authenticity seems to be more than doubtful. It is probably only one of those arbitrary transpositions which spoil Arnold's edition.

[1] See "Catalogue," 1741.

The preacher confesses, nevertheless, that he knew nothing of "the celebrated oratorio." He says, *apropos* of the air, "He will dash them in pieces," that he had been "informed" that the music of this passage was so well adapted to the idea which it expressed, that it made the hearer tremble with fear.

This is almost the only direct mention which he makes of the work. Why then so many sermons upon such a pretext? This question is answered by a few words in the introduction to the first volume, in which the reverend author declares:— "Such a plan has lately and rather unexpectedly occurred to me; conversation in almost every company, for some time past, having much turned upon the Commemoration of Handel, and particularly his oratorio of *The Messiah*." It is clear that the worthy man made use of a fashion of the day, in order to attract a greater amount of attention upon his sermons and his book.

The Messiah has remained the most popular of oratorios: I am almost tempted to say it forms part of the religion of England. It is never announced in anything like a fitting manner without attracting the public. It invariably forms part of the programme at all the festivals, and the day on which it is performed is always the most productive. I have had occasion to hear it at Greenwich and at Jersey, and, restricted as were the means of execution in both cases, it delighted the audience. In December, 1854, it was performed three times in London within a single week (Christmas week it is true), to overflowing audiences—on Wednesday, the 20th of December, at St. Martin's Hall, with three hundred performers, soloists, chorus, orchestra, and Mr. Hullah as conductor; on Friday, the 22nd, at Exeter Hall, by the Sacred Harmonic Society, with seven hundred performers, and Mr. Costa conductor; and on Monday, the 24th, at Exeter Hall, by the London Sacred Harmonic Society, with eight hundred performers, and Mr. Surman (the founder and first conductor of the Society now presided over by Mr. Costa) conductor. Search France, Germany, and Italy, and you will not be able to assemble such masses of artists, with such numerous and persevering audiences to recompense their

efforts. Can it be said after this that the English are an anti-musical people?

At the Birmingham Festival of 1855, *The Messiah* obtained a new triumph. The audience was composed of 2597 persons, and the receipts amounted to the almost incredible sum of £2808 8*s*. The performance was incomparable, prodigious, surpassing anything I ever heard in any country. Were I to live for a hundred years I should never forget that morning.

This oratorio is almost as widely spread over Germany as over England; it has been translated there for sixty years, and has been frequently published. At every festival in that country it has a leading place. It is also performed at New York and at Boston, where an American edition has been published. I have a newspaper from Melbourne, in Australia, which announces *The Messiah* for "the third concert of the Philharmonic Society." It is only in France that this oratorio is unknown!

As if *The Messiah* were to illustrate all the best qualities of Handel, that masterpiece of the artist who gave the most to the poor during his life is, of the productions of the human mind, that which has most contributed to all kinds of charities. At the present day, it is the piece of all others to attract the public to a benefit of any kind. The Sacred Harmonic Society, particularly, gives it every year for the benefit of distressed musicians. Truly does it deserve the touching eulogy that "it has fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and fostered the orphan."

The generous Handel had, in a manner, given this direction to his work. It has been seen that the whole receipts of the first performance went to the hospitals of Dublin. The fourth revival, which took place on the 11th of April, 1750, having been extremely successful, he gave it once more on the 1st of May following, for the benefit of the London Foundling Hospital, then in its infancy.[1]

[1] The Foundling Hospital, with which the only fault that can be found is that of being too luxurious, arose from the charitable devotion of a single individual, Captain Thomas Coram, a retired master of a trading vessel. His charity surmounted all the obstacles which stand in the way of such undertakings. "He obtained the Royal Charter on the 17th of October, 1739, and opened the Hospital on the 25th of March, 1741."—*Gentleman's Magazine*. The Hospital was then in Hatton Garden. "Any

"*Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children, in Lamb's Conduit Fields, April* 18, 1750.

"George Frederick Handel, Esq., having presented this Hospital with a very fine organ for the chapel thereof, and repeated his offer of assistance to promote this charity,[1] on Tuesday, the first day of May, 1750, at twelve o'clock at noon, Mr. Handel will open the said organ, and the sacred oratorio called *Messiah* will be performed under his direction. Tickets for this performance are ready to be delivered by the Steward at the Hospital; at Batson's Coffee House, in Cornhill; and White's Chocolate House,[2] in St. James's Street, at half a guinea

person bringing a child, rang the bell at the inner door, and waited to hear if the infant was returned, from disease, or at once received, no questions whatever being asked as to whom the child belonged, or whence it was brought; and when the full number of children had been taken in, a notice of 'The House is Full,' was affixed over the door. Often there were 100 children offered, when only twenty could be admitted; riots ensued, and thenceforth the women balloted for admission by drawing balls out of a bag."—Timbs's *Curiosities of London* page 311. The children were removed to the present Hospital in 1754. The *General Advertiser* for the 11th of January, 1750, announces the opening of the Hospital for the 19th, which, with the detestable editing of the time, must have signified that a new admission of children would take place on the 19th; for at that time the Hospital had been in existence ten years. Hogarth, who was less of a painter than a moralist writing with his pencil, has made a portrait of Captain Coram, which is as fine as if it were by one of the great masters. The resemblance must be perfect. All the nobility of kindliness beams from the somewhat commonplace features of that worthy and venerable old man.

[1] Allusion is here made to a performance which Handel had given on the 27th of May, 1749, for that noble institution, and of which mention will be made in its place.

[2] The mention of Batson's Coffee House and White's Chocolate House indicate that the houses for the sale of coffee and chocolate were at that time distinct from each other. The locality of Cornhill seems historically connected with the sale of coffee in England, inasmuch as the earliest coffee-house in London "was in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill, opposite to the church, which was set up by one Bowman (coachman to Mr. Hodges, a Turkey merchant, who putt him upon it), in or about the yeare 1652."—*Aubrey's MS.* in the Bodleian Library. White's Chocolate House was established in St. James's Street, 1698; but about 1736 it ceased to be a house of public resort, and "became a gaming-club and a noted supper-house." Hogarth, in Plate 6 of the "Rake's Progress," shows a party of gentlemen so intent upon their play, that they do not perceive that the house is in flames. As a proof of the extent to which gambling was here carried on, Horace Walpole, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, dated September 1, 1750, says:—"They have put into the papers a good story made at White's. A man dropped dead at the door, and was carried in; the club immediately made bets whether he was dead or not; and when they were

each. N.B.—There will be no collection. By order of the General Committee.

"HARMAN VERELST, Secretary."[1]

It was, and still is, the general custom in England, at all great charitable concerts, to make collections at the door.

The concourse was so great on the 1st of May, that three days afterwards the *General Advertiser* for Friday, the 4th of May, 1750, published a new advertisement of the Foundling Hospital, dated on the 2nd:—"A computation was made of what number of persons the chapel of this Hospital would conveniently hold, and no greater number of tickets were delivered to hear the performance there on the 1st instant. But so many persons of distinction coming unprovided with tickets, and pressing to pay for tickets, caused a greater number to be admitted than were expected; and some that *had* tickets, not finding room, went away. To prevent any disappointment to such persons, and for the further promotion of this charity, this is to give notice that George Frederick Handel, Esq., has generously offered that the sacred oratorio called *Messiah* shall be performed again under his direction, in the chapel of this Hospital, on Tuesday the 15th instant, at twelve of the clock at noon; and the tickets delivered out, and not brought in on the first instant, will then be received. The tickets will be delivered from Monday the 7th to the 14th, and not after."

In the following year, Handel again caused his favourite work to be performed successively, on the 18th of April and the 16th of May, for the benefit of the Hospital. On the 18th of April, 1751, "the sum for the tickets delivered out, was above 600 pounds."[2] Less than a month afterwards, on the 13th of May, the *General Advertiser* contained the following announcement:—"From the Foundling Hospital.—At the request of several persons of distinction, G. F. Handel, Esq., has been applied to for a repetition of the performance of the sacred

going to bleed him, the wagerers for his death interposed, and said it would affect the fairness of the bet."—Timbs's *Curiosities of London.*

[1] From the *General Advertiser* of Friday, April 20th, 1750.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine.*

oratorio called *Messiah;* which he having very charitably agreed to, this is to give notice that the said oratorio will be performed on Thursday, 16th instant, being Ascension day, at 12 at noon precisely. *Nota.*—The doors will be open at ten, and there will be no collection."

On the 17th, the same journal gives the following account of the performance:—"Yesterday the oratorio of *Messiah* was performed at the Foundling Hospital to a very numerous and splendid audience, and a voluntary on the organ was played by Mr. Handel, which met with universal applause." So they applauded then in the chapel of the Foundling Hospital. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1751, says:—"There were above five hundred coaches besides chairs, and the tickets amounted to above seven hundred guineas."

Seeing that *The Messiah* was, as they say in theatrical parlance, "a sure draw," Handel in a manner divided his property in it with the Hospital; he gave that institution a copy of the score, and promised to come and conduct it every year for the benefit of the good work. This gift was the occasion of an episode in which may be perceived the choleric humour of the worthy donor. The administrators of the Hospital, being desirous of investing his intentions with a legal form, prepared a petition to Parliament, which terminated in the following manner:—"That in order to raise a further sum for the benefit of the said charity, George Frederick Handel, Esq., hath been charitably pleased to give to this corporation a composition of music, called 'The Oratorio of *The Messiah,*' composed by him; the said George Frederick Handel reserving to himself only the liberty of performing the same for his own benefit during his life: And whereas, the said benefaction cannot be secured to the sole use of your petitioners except by the authority of Parliament, your petitioners therefore humbly pray that leave may be given to bring in a bill for the purposes aforesaid." When one of the governors waited upon the musician with this form of petition, he soon discovered that the Committee of the Hospital had built on a wrong foundation; for Handel, bursting into a rage, exclaimed—"Te Devil! for vat sal de Foundling put mein oratorio

in de Parlement!—Te Devil! mein music sal not go to de Parlement."[1]

The petition went no further; but Handel did not the less fulfil the pious engagement which he had contracted. In 1752, on the Thursday, the 9th of April, the number of tickets taken was 1200, each ten and sixpence.[2] In 1753, the *Public Advertiser* of the 2nd of May, announced:—"Yesterday, the sacred oratorio called *Messiah* was performed in the Chapel at the Foundling Hospital, under the direction of the inimitable composer thereof, George Frederick Handel, Esq., who, in the organ concerto, played himself a voluntary on the fine organ he gave to that chapel." The *London Magazine* of the month says that "there were above 800 coaches and chairs, and the tickets amounted to 925 guineas."

Eleven performances of the same kind, between 1750 and 1759, brought £6955 to the Hospital.[3] Handel conducted them all in person, although (it must not be forgotten) he became blind in 1753. This benefaction of the generous and charitable artist survived him for many years. Eight performances, conducted by J. C. Smith, between 1760 and 1768, realized £1332, and nine performances, conducted by John Stanley, from 1769 to 1777, realized £2032;[4] so that, altogether, *The Messiah* alone brought into the funds of the Foundling Hospital no less a sum than £10,299.

[1] Brownlow, page 143. The Foundling Hospital of London was not the only charitable institution which had the honour to receive a copy of the masterpiece. Handel had previously bestowed one on the Charitable Musical Society of Dublin. *Faulkner's Journal* of the 3rd to the 6th of December, 1743, announces:—"From the Charitable Musical Society. The said Society having obtained from the celebrated Mr. Handel a copy of the score of the grand musical entertainment called *The Messiah*, they intend to have it performed on the 16th of December inst., for the benefit and enlargement of prisoners confined for debt," &c. When the Society ceased to exist, this copy passed, somehow or other, into the possession of Mercer's Hospital, Dublin; for that institution boasted a short time ago of possessing one. One of the physicians of the establishment, being fond of music, took it home with him one day to examine it. Shortly afterwards he died suddenly, and the copy disappeared in the midst of the confusion caused by that event. All endeavours to recover it have hitherto been in vain, and it is uncertain whether it has been stolen by some amateur, who is for the present compelled to conceal it, or whether it has been burnt as waste paper by some ignorant domestic. For the facts upon which this note is founded I am indebted to Mr. Townsend.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine.* [3] Burney. [4] Burney.

Let it be remarked that *The Messiah, Judas Maccabæus,* and *Samson* were the most popular oratorios during the life of the author; he produced the first thirty-four times, the second thirty-four times also, and the third thirty times. But in the thirty-four representations of *The Messiah*, the eleven for the Foundling Hospital are included. Handel, therefore, only performed it twenty-three times for his own benefit. It is even to be remarked, that from the year 1753 he did not give more than eleven performances in each year. One might imagine that he had imposed upon himself the rule of giving only twelve, and that he wished to reserve the last for the Foundling Hospital. In this manner he diminished the benefits which he might have derived from his favourite work for himself, in order that the charitable institution might have the more advantage. How is it possible not to hold in affectionate veneration the memory of a man in whose life we discover such facts! To sympathize with human misery when we find it under our very eyes is natural and almost instinctive, a momentary sacrifice for the relief of a sufferer is so easy; but a continued sacrifice is difficult, and it must be founded upon a rational idea of duty, since it imposes upon us daily privations. For this reason, nothing is more worthy of our respect than this charity of Handel, which lasted for years, of which he never was weary, which fed itself continually like a miraculous inextinguishable flame.

Mr. Macfarren has said (in his preface to the libretto of 1854, for the Sacred Harmonic Society) that the sacred oratorio was never printed during the author's lifetime. This is not absolutely exact. Walsh had scattered *all* the airs and the last duet through his collection of *Handel's* (400) *Songs selected from his Oratorios,* in five oblong volumes. This collection, it is true, commenced in 1749 (six years after the first performance of *The Messiah* in London), and was completed in 1759. Moreover, it does not include a single chorus. This, therefore, cannot be considered as a regular publication of the work; and if Mr. Macfarren takes it in that sense, he is in the right.

The fact is, that the first collected edition, entitled *Songs in*

the Messiah, does not date further back than 1763, four years after the author's death. Even in this, there were wanting five recitatives and all the choruses, and still we find all the airs as they had been composed originally, and without any of the changes which Handel had made. The first edition which is really complete is that of Randall, Walsh's successor, and it belongs to the year 1768. I have treated these two questions about dates in the "Catalogue of Works" (article *Messiah*), where they are more naturally in their place; and to this I take the liberty of referring the reader who feels interested about them.

My opinion upon this point was formed at the time when I happened to meet Mr. John Caulfield, the son of Walsh's apprentice, of whom mention has been already made.[1] According to what he remembers of his father's conversation upon the point, after the performance of *The Messiah,* Walsh demanded the MS., sending, at the same time, the usual *honorarium* of twenty guineas, which was the stipulated price of every oratorio which he printed. But the composer would not accept them, saying, that rather than receive such a sum he would not publish the oratorio. When Mr. John Caulfield communicated to me this oral tradition, I had not informed him that, so far as I had ascertained, *The Messiah* had remained unpublished during the lifetime of the author. Was this really the cause of that extraordinary fact? Was the ex-apprentice, in his old age, quite sure of what he said? Did Handel, who was so violent, so single in purpose, and of such an inflexible temper, ever desire to draw back from his word? Did Walsh, not being desirous of opening the door to other augmentations of price for the future, exhibit the same obstinacy? Without pretending to hold the key of the secret, or to assert that this explanation is satisfactory, I offer it to the consideration of the reader. It leads us, however, to imagine that Handel valued this work from the beginning, much beyond any other, in spite of the indifference of the public.

Whatever may have been his motives, which are so impenetrable for us, there is no doubt that he did not wish *The*

[1] Page 91.

Messiah to be printed. With the exception of *Israel in Egypt* (which doubtless excited his chorophobia), Walsh published all the other works, even *Theodora*, which was a failure, and he would not have refused that honour to *The Messiah* if he had been permitted to do the same with it. The phœnix of oratorios was not entirely successful at first; but admitting that that reason had any influence with the tradesman, it no longer existed in 1750. *The Messiah* had then for the second time conquered the spirit of darkness, and was in all its glory, constantly attracting the multitude, so that Walsh, instead of fearing to make a bad speculation, would have been certain to make a good one. It must even be supposed that Walsh was in some manner religiously bound, since, in spite of the certainty of profit, he only engraved his book of *Songs in The Messiah* four years after the death of the composer.

Another circumstance serves to show that Handel had a very precise determination that his work should remain in MS. It has been stated that Walsh introduced eighteen pieces from it into his *Handel's* (400) *Songs from the Oratorios;* but, by a solitary exception, the name of the work to which they belong is indicated neither in the table of contents nor in the headings of the airs! Perhaps Handel could not resist the entreaties of his publisher for permission to insert these pieces; but he did not the less impose as a condition that he should not state from whence they were taken. To explain the matter in any other way appears difficult. He had, nevertheless, permitted the overture to be engraved in 1743, for it is to be found in the order of its date, in the collection of his overtures, under the title of *Sacred Oratorio*.

Of this composition, which remained unpublished for twenty years, more copies have been printed than of any other musical work, by any other master, in any country in the world. It has now reached the almost fabulous number of forty-three editions, thirty-three in England and ten in other countries. I have had great difficulty in collecting them all, of which a detailed list will be given in the "Catalogue," not merely for the satisfaction of a bibliographical curiosity, but as an interesting document in the history of music. There are very few literary

works, of whatever nature, which can boast of an equal success, and yet there are two or three thousand readers of books against one who can read a musical score. It is undoubtedly one of Great Britain's proudest boasts, that a composition which has enjoyed such immense and universal success should be set to English words.

It has been stated that the first printed handbook of the masterpiece of oratorios does not date further back than the 24th of April, 1750, conformably to an advertisement by Watts, the printer, inserted in the *General Advertiser* of that day:—"*The Messiah*, as it is to be performed on the 1st of May, at the Foundling Hospital." This assertion is erroneous. All the handbooks of *The Messiah* which are dated, belong to a very early date; but it cannot be doubted that some of those which are undated, published by Watts and Tonson, were printed for the performances of the work at London, in 1743 and 1745. *The Messiah* would otherwise be the only oratorio—absolutely the only one—which had been performed without a handbook, and no plausible reason can be given for that exception. Watts announced his handbook when the work itself was advertised. Thus we find in the number of the above-named journal for the 23rd of March, 1749:—"To-morrow will be published (price 1*s*.) *Messiah*, an oratorio, as it is performed in the Theatre Royal, at Covent Garden, printed by and for Watts, and sold by him and by Dod."[1] On the 10th of April, 1750, he repeated the announcement in the same journal, "as it is to be performed next Thursday, at the Theatre Royal, in Covent Garden." At all events, it is incontestable that the words had already been printed eight years before, at Dublin. The *Dublin News Letter* of the 23rd to the 27th of March, 1742, in announcing the work for the 12th of April following, adds:—"Tickets to be had at the Musick Hall. Books are also to be had at a British sixpence each."[2] Handel himself even made mention of this first libretto, in a letter written in 1742, which will presently be quoted. It is true that it is not now to be found; but its past existence is not the less satisfactorily attested.

[1] The Sacred Harmonic Society possesses a copy with this date.

[2] Townsend, page 70.

CHAPTER IX.

1742—1752.

"Samson"—"Dettingen Te Deum"—Pretended Plagiarisms—"Joseph"—"Semele"—Correspondence about "Belshazzar"—"Hercules"—Acts of Hostility on the part of the Nobles against Handel—His Second Failure—"Occasional Oratorio"—"Rule Britannia"—"God Save the King"—"Judas Macchabæus"—'See the Conquering Hero'—"Joshua"—"Solomon"—"Susannah"—"Fireworks Music"—"Theodora"—"Choice of Hercules."

From a letter written by Handel in London, a few days after his return from Dublin, it may be gathered that he had not then absolutely determined upon what he should do.

"*To Charles Jennens, Esq., Junior, at Gopsal, near Atherstone.*
(*Coventry Bag.*)

"London, September 9th, 1742.

"Dear Sr.,—It was indeed your humble servant which intended you a visit in my way from Ireland to London, for I certainly would have given you a better account by word of mouth as by writing, how well your *Messiah* was received in that country; yet, as a noble Lord, and not less than the Bishop of Elphin (a nobleman very learned in musick), has given his observations in writing on this oratorio, I send you here annexed the contents of it in his own words. I shall send the printed book of *The Messiah* to Mr. J. Steel for you.

"As for my success in general in that generous and polite nation, I reserve the account of it till I have the honour to see you in London. The report that the direction of the Opera next winter is committed to my care is groundless. The gentlemen who have undertaken to meddle with harmony cannot agree, and are quite in a confusion. Whether I shall do something in the oratorio way (as several of my friends desire) I cannot determine as yet. Certain it is, that this time twelvemonth I shall

continue my oratorios in Ireland, where they are going to make a large subscription already for that purpose.

"If I had known that my Lord Guernsey was so near when I passed Coventry, you may easily imagine, S^r., that I should not have neglected of paying my respects to him, since you know the particular esteem I have for his Lordship. I think it a very long time to the month of November next, when I can have some hopes of seeing you here in town. Pray let me hear meanwhile of your health and welfare, of which I take a real share, being, with an uncommon sincerity and respect, S^r., your most obliged humble servant,

"GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL."[1]

The enthusiasm which his works had excited at Dublin, and the personal welcome which had been accorded to him there, presented a happy contrast to the state of things under which Handel had suffered at London. This must very naturally have inspired him with a desire to return thither, a project to which he refers in this letter. He never accomplished it, however. Still, his visit to Ireland had, as may be easily imagined, a profound influence on the taste of that country. *Esther, Athaliah, Acis, Alexander's Feast,* the *Utrecht* and *Dettingen Te Deums,* the *Jubilate,* and the *Coronation Anthems,* for a long time occupied almost exclusively the musical societies of that kingdom.

From the dry tone with which he speaks of "the gentlemen who have undertaken to meddle with harmony," it may be believed that he had not ceased to regret the Italian Opera, and that he would not have refused the management of it if it had been offered him. He was for a long time undecided; industrious as he was, he did nothing during the end of the year 1742, with the exception of two chamber duets, and a chorus and an air to be added to his *Samson,* which was commenced eight days after the completion of *The Messiah,* and was completed in five weeks. One might say that he was waiting for some proposition on behalf of his spoilt child, Italian Opera. At last, when the Lent of 1743 had arrived, he went to Covent Garden Theatre,

[1] Townsend, p. 106. See note at page 244.

to give there oratorios by subscription, in six performances, as he had done at Dublin. The advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser* for the 17th of February, 1743, supplies a very clear notion of the system which he adopted:—

"By subscription.—At the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, to-morrow, the 18th inst., will be performed a new oratorio, called *Sampson*. Tickets will be delivered to subscribers (on paying their subscription money) at Mr. Handel's house, in Brooke Street, near Hanover Square. Attendance will be given from nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon. Pit and boxes to be put together, and no person to be admitted without tickets, which will be delivered that day at the office in Covent Garden Theatre, at half a guinea each; first gallery, 5*s.*; upper gallery, 3*s.* 6*d.* *Nota.*—Each subscriber is to pay six guineas upon taking out his subscription ticket, which entitles him to three box tickets every night of Mr. Handel's first six performances in Lent. And if Mr. Handel should have any more performances after the first six nights, each subscriber may continue on the same conditions."[1]

From a letter inserted in *Faulkner's Journal* for the 12th to the 15th of March, 1743, it appears that *Samson* was well received:—"Our friend Mr. Handel is very well, and things have taken a quite different turn here from what they did some time past; for the public will be no longer imposed on by Italian singers and wrong-headed undertakers of bad operas, but find out the merit of Mr. Handel's compositions and English performances. That gentleman is more esteemed now than ever. The new oratorio, called *Samson*, which he composed since he left Ireland, has been performed four times to more crowded audiences than ever were seen; more people being turned away for want of room each night than hath been at the Italian Opera. Mr. Dubourg (lately arrived from Dublin) performed at the last, and met with uncommon applause from the Royal Family and the whole audience."[2]

[1] Quoted by Dr. Rimbault, in the preface to his edition of *Samson* for the Handel Society.

[2] Townsend.

I am afraid that there is much more of kindness than of accuracy in this letter. The success was exceptional, but comparatively so. In fact, the subscription was only once renewed, and therefore there were only twelve performances.[1] Would they have been hastily concluded on the 30th of March, at the *eighth* performance of *Samson*, if there had been such a great number of people "turned away for want of room each night?" The composer was under no compulsion, and he would have continued the performances as long as he pleased.

Not one of the London journals says a word about this season, in which were produced, for the first time, *Samson* and *The Messiah!* What an age for the arts!

It is stated that Handel, being asked the question, replied that he did not know to which of these two oratorios he gave the preference. We may judge by the *London Daily Post*, that Walsh bore the new masterpiece in some esteem:—March 12th, 1743—"In a few days will be published the songs in *Samson*." March 19th—"This day is published, songs in the Oratorio called *Samson*." April 1st—"To-morrow will be published a second collection of songs in the Oratorio of *Samson*; to which is prefixed the overture in score." April 4th—"This day is published a second collection, etc. (as above). Price 4*s*." April 8th—"The remaining songs in *Samson* will be published to-morrow. Price 2*s*. 6*d*.; with a complete index." April 9th—"This day is published the remaining songs, which complete the Oratorio of *Samson*, with an index to the whole."

In spite of all his advertising, Walsh treated this oratorio with no more ceremony than the others. According to his invariable custom, he gave neither a single one of its eighteen choruses, nor one of its magnificent and dramatic recitatives. Randall was the first, nine or ten years after the death of the author, to risk the publication of the entire score.

The poem is pathetically fine. It was taken from Milton by Newburg Hamilton, who gave free scope to the enthusiasm with

[1] Performances of 1743:—*Samson*, eight times; *Messiah*, three times; *L'Allegro* and *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, once.

which the genius of Handel inspired him. In the introduction to the handbook, he says:—"That poem, indeed, never was divided by Milton into acts or scenes, nor designed (as he hints in his preface) for the stage; but given only as the plan of a tragedy with choruses, after the manner of the ancients. But as Mr. Handel had so happily introduced here oratorios, a musical drama, whose subject must be scriptural, and in which the solemnity of church musick is agreeably united with the most pleasing airs of the stage, it would have been an irretrievable loss to have neglected the opportunity of that great master's doing justice to this work; he having already added new life and spirit to some of the finest things in the English language, particularly that inimitable Ode of Dryden's, which no age nor nation ever excelled.

"As we have so great a genius amongst us, it is a pity that so many mean artifices have been lately used to blast all his endeavours, and in him ruin the art itself; but he has the satisfaction of being encouraged by all true lovers and real judges of musick; in a more especial manner by that illustrious person, whose high rank only serves to make his knowledge in all arts and sciences as conspicuous as his power and inclination to patronize them."

Newburg Hamilton inscribed his poem "to Frederick Prince of Wales."

Upon the waste sketch of an air, "For ever let his sacred praise," which is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Handel has written the following memorandum:—

"Samson	140
Micah	97
Manoah	76
Dalilah	31
Harapha	34
Messenger . . .	10
In all .	388"

Perhaps this referred to the copyist's bill for each of these parts: *Samson*, 140 pages, &c. What was the rate of payment

for each page? It is not exactly known; but we may imagine that the cost of copying an oratorio must have been rather considerable, for all the choral and orchestral parts had to be transcribed. The copy of an opera score now-a-days seldom costs less than from £60 to £80.

The famous English tenor, Beard, who began to sing for Handel in 1734, created the part of Samson, in which he raised himself to the first rank of singers. Brought up among the children at the Chapel Royal, he was an excellent musician, and distinguished himself besides by his irreproachable private character and excellent manners.[1] Lady Henrietta Herbert, the only daughter of James, Earl of Waldegrave, and widow of Lord Edward Herbert, the second son of the Marquis of Powis, was married to him in the month of January, 1739. If it be excusable in a lady to marry twice, it must be when she chooses an artist of merit, who is also an honourable man; but as Beard was neither a duke nor an earl, Lady Herbert's choice caused an immense scandal among what is called "the fashionable world." It was talked about for at least fifteen days. Lady Mary Wortley Montague made it the subject of one of her smart letters addressed to Lady Pomfret:—"Lady Harriet Herbert furnished the tea-tables here with fresh tattle for the last fortnight. I was one of the first who was informed of her adventure by Lady Gage, who was told that morning by a priest, that she had desired him to marry her the next day to Beard, who sings in the farces at Drury Lane. He refused her that good office, and immediately told Lady Gage, who (having been unfortunate in her friends) was frightened at this affair, and asked my advice. I told her honestly, that since the lady was capable of such amours, I did not doubt, if this was broke off, she would bestow her person and fortune on some hackney-coachman or chairman; and that I really saw no method of saving her from ruin, and her family from dishonour, but by poisoning her; and offered to be at the expense of the arsenic, and even to administer it with my own hands, if she would invite her to drink tea with her that evening. But on her not approving that method, she sent to Lady Montacute,

[1] *Dictionary of Musicians.*

Mrs. Durich, and all the relations within reach of messengers. They carried Lady Harriet to Twickenham, though I told them it was a bad air for girls. She is since returned to London, and some people believe her married; others, that she is too much intimidated by Mr. Waldegrave's threats to dare to go through this ceremony; but the secret is now public, and in what manner it will conclude I know not. Her relations have certainly no reason to be amazed at her constitution, but are violently surprised at the mixture of devotion that forces her to have recourse to the church in her necessities; which has not been the road taken by the matrons of her family. Such examples are very detrimental to our whole sex, and are apt to influence the other into a belief that we are unfit to manage either liberty or money."

The witty Lady Mary, who so well expressed the indignation of her class, would doubtless, in these days, have held an eminent place among the defenders of religion and of family. Mrs. Herbert, however, did not repent of not having followed the examples of "the matrons of her family." She died in 1753, after having lived entirely happy with Beard. He raised to her memory a fine monument in the churchyard of St. Pancras, with the following inscription:—"On the 8th of January, 1738-9, she became the wife of Mr. John Beard, who, during a happy union of fourteen years, tenderly loved her person and admired her virtues; who sincerely feels and laments her loss; and must for ever revere her memory, to which he consecrates this monument."[1]

The regrets of Beard did not survive six years, for in 1759, he married a daughter of the harlequin Rich. Alas! the other world should be a vale of tears, if the dead, who bear with them a great love to the tomb, could see what they have left upon the earth.

Handel being reinstalled in London, set to work again and wrote *Semele*, from the 3rd of June to the 4th of July, when he commenced the famous *Te Deum* and *Anthem* for the victory of Dettingen, which gloriously rescued from almost certain ruin

[1] *Memoirs of the Musical Drama*, by Hogarth. Vol. ii.

the Austro-English army commanded by George II. They were solemnly sung in the presence of the King, in the royal chapel of St. James's, on the 27th of November, 1743, after having been rehearsed on the 18th and 25th, at Whitehall Chapel, during the forenoon.[1] On the 19th, a journal spoke of the rehearsal in these terms:—"Yesterday [Nov. 18th, 1743], a Te Deum and Anthem, composed by Mr. Handel for his Majesty, were rehearsed before a splendid assembly at Whitehall Chapel, and are said by the best judges to be so truly masterly and sublime, as well as new in their kind, that they prove this great genius not only inexhaustible, but likewise still rising to a higher degree of perfection."[2] Posterity has ratified this judgment. Handel set to music five different times,[3] in the space of thirty years, the Hymn of St. Ambrose, and always with new beauties, always with a fresh colour. It has been remarked that he gave each time to the verse, "To thee all angels cry aloud," a plaintive sense and tune. The *Dettingen Te Deum* and *Anthem*, destined to celebrate victory, have an essentially martial character. The trumpets and the kettle-drums mingle in them frequently with overpowering brilliancy. The Hymn was performed at the Commemoration of 1784, with "fourteen trumpets, two pairs of common kettle-drums, two pairs of double drums from the Tower, and one pair of double bass drums made expressly for this Commemoration."[4] Burney declares that the effect was indescribable. Handel has written a great deal for the trumpet, and he was prompted to do so by the talent of Valentin Snow, the first trumpet in his orchestra. Snow must have been an artist of the highest rank, judging from the extreme difficulty of many passages which were confided to him. In the present day, Mr. Harper alone can perform

[1] *London Daily Post.*

[2] *Faulkner's Journal*, Nov. 22nd to 26th, quoted from a London paper.

[3] Besides the *Utrecht Te Deum* of 1713, and the two *Chandos Te Deums*, there was also that for Queen Caroline, in 1737. (See "Catalogue," 1737.)

[4] These two double bass drums are fanciful, and do not belong to regular music. Burney says, "two pair of double drums, besides the one pair of double bass drums." I suppose that what he intended to say was, a pair. Four kettle-drums, two double drums, and two double bass drums were a very respectable park of artillery.

without false notes the admirable accompaniment to the air in *The Messiah,* "Behold! the trumpet shall sound."

Mr. V. Novello, a learned modern publisher, has informed us, in the preface to his edition of *Purcell's Sacred Music,* that ten movements of the *Dettingen Te Deum* are borrowed from a similar work by Francisco Antonio Uria, some of whose works were published at Bologna, in 1697. Handel, says he, "picked up a pebble, and changed it to a diamond. One can only regret that he had not the candour to own from whom he borrowed the pebble." According to Mr. Macfarren, Handel was guilty of many larcenies of this kind. Thus the chorus in *The Messiah,* "And with his stripes," is identically the same as a fugue by Bach, which Mr. Macfarren does not name; and the chorus in *Acis,* "Wretched lovers," has for its principal movement that of another fugue by Bach, which also he does not name.[1] The great accused may say, like Molière, when he used something from Cyrano de Bergerac: "Je prends mon bien où je le trouve" (I take my property wherever I find it); but it would be doubly astonishing to find that Handel, ordinarily so conscientious, should conceal such acquisitions. He knew too much, to dissemble about what others had taught him. He had always a rare loyalty of character. He wrote the little pastoral symphony which precedes the arrival of the shepherds in *The Messiah,* out of one of the melodies which the *Pifferari* of Calabria have sung at Rome, during the holy week, from time immemorial; but he took care to acknowledge it upon the MS., and did not wish that any one should be deceived about it. Why not have acted in the same manner with regard to the other pieces which he *borrowed?* He who was so rich! Dr. Rimbault, who, in the preface to his fine edition of *The Messiah* for the Handel Society, has given the entire melody of the Pifferari, is very learned in music, and if he had recognized Bach's fugue in the chorus, "And with his stripes," he would have given that also.

Mr. Sterndale Bennett, in his preface to *Acis,* for the edition of the Handel Society, has occasion to speak twice of the

[1] *Musical World* for 1849, page 200.

chorus "Wretched lovers," but says nothing of its identity with one of Bach's fugues. Bach was a cotemporary of Handel; his admirable fugues were very well known, and it is not probable that Handel, whose own fecundity was so abundant, would have had the boldness to appropriate two ideas belonging to another man, whose genius was often put into comparison with his own.

Sir G. Smart, in his preface to the *Dettingen Te Deum*, for the Handel Society, says:—"Handel did not borrow pebbles, but polished diamonds." But why, in imitation of Dr. Rimbault, did he not give his readers the opportunity of estimating the relative value of the diamonds? When a great artist like Handel is accused of theft, the proofs should be exhibited openly; for it is a curious fact that whilst the author of *The Messiah* confessed the adoption of the Pifferari hymn in the little pastoral symphony, Mr. Macfarren reproaches him for not having acknowledged that he had borrowed it from an old English ballad called *Parthenia*. These pretended thefts are nothing but accidental resemblances, fugitive, and quite involuntary.

I do not refer to what Dr. Crotch says upon the subject, in his *Overtures, Choruses, Symphonies, and Marches of Handel, adapted for the Piano*. If he is to be believed, Handel was never anything but a plagiarist, who passed his life in seeking ideas out of every corner. There is scarcely one note by him which, according to the discoveries of the Doctor, has not been stolen from Leo, Luther, Porta, Pergolese, Carissimi, Stephani, Kulnau, Taleman, Graun, Vinci, Bononcini, Bach, Corelli, and other well-known models, such as Padre Uria, Calvisius, Habermann, Muffat, Kerl, Morley, Cesti, Turni, &c., &c.—There are portraits of Crotch which represent him playing upon the organ, at the age of three years. He so astonished the world by his prodigious precocities that he was called "the Musical Phenomenon." This extraordinary child became one of the most ordinary of doctors, and we see how he employed his time.

The composition of the *Dettingen Anthem* and the *Te Deum* preceded that of *Joseph and his Brethren*, which was

written in August, 1743, and was given with *Semele*, at Covent Garden, during the Lent of 1744.[1] The *Daily Post* of the 9th of January, 1744, announces:—"By particular desire, Mr. Handel proposes to perform, by subscription, twelve performances, during next Lent, and engages to play two new performances, and some of his former oratorios, if time will permit. Each subscriber is to pay four guineas at the time he subscribes."

I quote the text of all these advertisements, thinking that they will interest the reader as much as they have interested me. They throw a singular light upon history; they are like telescopes, which serve to exhibit distinctly those objects which distance has confused. Signora Galli, who made her *début* in *Joseph*, was, according to Cradock, a favourite pupil of Handel.

Joseph is dedicated, by the author of the words, James Miller,[2] to his Grace the Duke of Montague; but three-fourths of the dedication are filled with the praise of the composer.

"*To His Grace the Duke of Montague.*

"May it please your Grace, I have no other apology to make for presuming to lay the following performance at your Grace's feet, than the countenance you are pleased to give to the refined and sublime entertainments of this kind, and the generous patronage you manifest towards the great master, by whose divine harmony they are supported. A master meritorious of such a patron, as he may be said, without the least adulation, to have shown a higher degree of excellence in each of the various kinds of composition, than any one who has preceded him ever arrived at in a single branch of it; and to have so peculiar a felicity in always making his strain the tongue of his subject, that his music is sure to talk to the purpose, whether the words it is set to do so or not. 'Tis a pity, however, my Lord, that such a genius should be put to the drudgery of hammering for

[1] Performances of 1744:—*Semele*, four times; *Joseph*, four times; *Samson*, twice; *Saul*, twice.

[2] James Miller, of Wadham College, Oxford, called "Reverend" by the *Biographia Dramatica*, is the author of *Mahomet* (a tragedy), of several comedies, and of three farces.

fire where there is no flint, and of giving a sentiment to the poet's metre before he can give one to his own melody."

The remainder of the dedication asks pardon of the Duke of Montague for the weakness of the poem, which is nevertheless thought to be the best which Handel has treated. The reader will understand, of course, that I do not refer to those which were taken from Milton and Dryden.

Arnold has called *Semele*, which preceded *Joseph*, "a dramatic performance;" that is to say, he did not consider it precisely as an opera. Mainwaring describes it as "an English opera, but called an oratorio, and performed as such at Covent Garden." The *General Advertiser* of the 10th of February, 1744, adds, in announcing it:—"After the manner of an oratorio." Without being very puritanical, one has some difficulty in classifying the daughter of Cadmus, who was burnt to death in the embraces of that stupid Jupiter, among the worshipful company of the oratorios. Several indications of the poem do not absolutely agree with the idea which we have formed of a sacred drama. For example, in the third act, scene 4:—"Jupiter enters; offers to embrace Semele; she looks kindly at him, but retires a little from him." The summary at the beginning of the handbook has certainly not a very religious flavour:—"*Argument.*—After Jupiter's amour with Europa, the daughter of Agenor, king of Phœnicia, he again incenses Juno by a new affair in the same family, viz., with Semele, niece of Europa, and daughter to Cadmus, king of Thebes. Semele is on the point of marriage with Athamas, a prince of Bœotia; which marriage is about to be solemnized in the temple of Juno, goddess of marriages, when Jupiter, by ill omens, interrupts the ceremony, and afterwards transports Semele to a private abode prepared for her. Juno, after many contrivances, at length assumes the shape and voice of Ino, sister to Semele; by the help of which disguise, and artful insinuations, she prevails with Semele to make a request to Jupiter, which, being granted, must end in her ruin."

However, since Handel caused "this affair" to be sung in the sacred fashion—that is to say, without action (as *Acis*,

which has quite as much the appearance of an opera), I think that we ought to classify it, with *Acis*, among the serenatas. It is amusing to see how men trifle with words. They would not allow *Esther* or *Judas Macchabæus* to be played in action, on account of the profanity; but they had no objection to listen to *Semele*, even in Lent, because it was "*after the manner of an oratorio.*"

It was after the season of 1744 that Handel composed *Belshazzar;* upon which subject several letters were addressed by him to Charles Jennens, the author of the words. They have been preserved by the family of the poet, and were published by Mr. Horsley in the preface to his edition of *The Messiah*. This gentleman did not know to what oratorio reference was made, but the dates upon the MSS. leave no doubt that it was *Belshazzar*.[1]

"London, June 9, 1744.

"Dear Sir,—Now I should be extreamely glad to receive the first act, or what is ready, of the new oratorio with which you intend to favour me, that I might employ all my attention and time, in order to answer, in some measure, the great obligation I lay under. This new favour will greatly increase my obligations.—I remain, with all possible gratitude and respect," &c. &c.

"July 19, 1744.

"Dear Sir,—At my arrival in London, which was yesterday, I immediately perused the act of the oratorio with which you favour'd me, and the little time only I had it, gives me great pleasure. Your reasons for the length of the first act are entirely satisfactory to me, and it is likewise my opinion to have the following acts short. I shall be very glad, and much obliged to you, if you will soon favour me with the remaining acts. Be pleased to point out these passages in *The Messiah* which you think require altering. I desire my humble respects and thanks

[1] At the foot of the first page, "Angefangen den 23 Agost, 1744" (commenced on the, &c.) After the first act, "September 3, fine della parte prima, den 15 dieses völlig" (3rd of September, first part, entirely finished on the 15th instant). After the second act, "Fine della parte 2da, September 10, 1744." The last page of the third act is lost.

to my Lord Guernsey[1] for his many civility's to me, and believe me to be," &c. &c.

"London, Agost ye 21, 1744.

"DEAR SIR,—The second act of the oratorio I have received safe, and own myself highly obliged to you for it. I am greatly pleased with it, and shall use my best endeavours to do it justice. I can only say that I impatiently wait for the third act, and desire to believe me to be," &c. &c.

"London, September 13, 1744.

"DEAR SIR,—Your most excellent oratorio has given me great delight in setting it to musick, and still engages me warmly. It is indeed a noble piece, very grand and uncommon; it has furnished me with expressions, and has given me opportunity to some very particular ideas, besides so many great chorus's. I intreat you heartily to favour me soon with the last act, which I expect with anxiety, that I may regulate myself the better as to the length of it. I profess myself highly obliged to you for so generous a present, and desire you to believe me to be, with great esteem and respect, Sir," &c. &c.

"London, October 2, 1744.

"DEAR SIR,—I received the 3rd act with a great deal of pleasure, as you can imagine, and you may believe that I think it a very fine and sublime oratorio, only it is really too long; if I should extend the musick, it would last 4 hours and more. I retrenched already a great deal of musick, that I might preserve the poetry as much as I could; yet still it may be shorten'd. The anthems come in very proprely; but would not the words, 'Tell it out among the heathens that the Lord is King,' be sufficient for our chorus? The anthem, 'The Lord preserveth all them that love him; but scattereth abroad all the ungodly.' (Vers. and chorus), 'My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord, and let all flesh give thanks unto His holy name, for ever and ever—Amen,' concludes well the oratorio," &c. &c.

[1] Subsequently Earl of Aylesford.

The excisions were effected in "the sublime oratorio;" but Charles Jennens would not abate one of his verses, and the handbook was printed exactly as it had been written, with this *Nota Bene*:—"N.B.—The oratorio being thought too long, several things are marked with a black line drawn down the margin, as omitted in the performance." Handel had cut with an unsparing knife; for more than two hundred lines are bordered with the fatal sign of mourning.

The work was announced for the 23rd, the 25th, and the 26th of March, 1745, in the *Daily Advertiser*, under the title of *Belteshazzar*, the surname of the prophet Daniel in Babylon.[1] The present title was only given on the 27th, the day of the first performance. That of *Belteshazzar* must have been one of Charles Jennens's ideas, for amateur poets are fond of names which give them the air of being very learned. In *Joseph and his Brethren*, Pharaoh says to Joseph, "Let Zaphnath-paaneah be thy name."[2] Would it not have been a capital notion to have called the oratorio *Zaphnath-paaneah and his Brethren?*

In the MS. of *Belshazzar*, this curious indication of time appears above a little symphony in the second act, "Allegro postillions," which seems as if Handel wished this to be played at mail-coach speed.

Before *Belshazzar*—by which, according to the letter of the 13th of September, Handel set great store—he had composed (between the 19th of July and the 17th of August, 1744) *Hercules*, which was announced as "a musical drama," in the *General Advertiser* of the 1st of January, 1745, and was engraved under the title of "an oratorio." Mr. Salaman, in his lectures "On Music in Connection with the Dance," has performed the Warrior's March and the chorus, "Crown with festal pomp," from *Hercules*. If the remainder of the score equal these two magnificent pieces, *Hercules* is a masterpiece unknown to the public.

[1] Daniel ii. 26.

[2] Genesis xli. 45. The handbook states that these words signify "Saviour of the World." We always see the entire world in our home, be it ever so small.

The last season (during the Lent of 1744) had been far from brilliant. Handel seems to have trusted in the success of the two novelties, *Belshazzar* and *Hercules*, to repair his losses, for he opened the campaign very early and with a certain pretension. It has been stated that the Italian Theatre, in the Haymarket, was closed on the 16th of June, 1744, for want of audiences. This theatre he hired, and then published the following advertisement, in the *General Advertiser* of the 20th of October, 1744:—"By particular desire; Mr. Handel proposes to perform, by subscription, twenty-four times during the winter season, at the King's Theatre, in the Haymarket, and engages to exhibit two new performances and several of his former oratorios. The first performance will be on Saturday, the 3rd of November, and will continue every Saturday till *Lent*, and then on Wednesdays and Fridays. Each subscriber is to pay eight guineas at the time he subscribes, which entitles him to one box ticket for each performance. Subscriptions are taken in at Mr. Handel's house, in Brook Street, near Hanover Square; at Mr. Walsh's, in Catherine Street, in the Strand; and at White's Chocolate House, in St. James's Street. Those gentlemen and ladies who have already favoured Mr. Handel in the subscription, are desired to send for their tickets at his house, in Brook Street, where attendance will be given every day (Sundays excepted), from nine o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon."

On the 27th of October, the *General Advertiser* announced, for the 3rd of November, "an oratorio called *Deborah*, with a concerto on the organ;" and on the 3rd of November, the advertisement of the 20th of October was repeated, indicating the first performance for that evening. The house must have been but thinly attended, for the same journal, of the 5th of November, inserted this advertisement:—"As the greatest part of Mr. Handel's subscribers are not in town, he is requested not to perform till Saturday, the 24th instant; but the subscription is still continued to be taken in at Mr. Handel's house, as before."

On the 24th of November was announced "*Deborah*, with a

concerto on the organ;" on the 1st of December, "*Semele*, after the manner of an oratorio," with "additions and alterations, and a concerto on the organ;" on the 8th of December, *Semele*, for the second time; after which a new interruption (which is unexplained) up to the 5th of January, 1745, when the performances were resumed with "*Hercules*, a new musical drama;" on January the 12th, *Hercules* again; then another suspension (which also is unexplained) up to the 1st of March, when *Samson* was given, which was repeated on the 8th. On the last-named day, the advertisement announced that "proper care will be taken to make the house warm." Afterwards came, in regular order, *Saul*, *Joseph*, *Belshazzar*, and "*The Sacred Oratorio*, with a concerto on the organ."[1]

Even such works as these could not fill the King's Theatre, and Handel was obliged to stop short on the 23rd of April, at the sixteenth performance.

The faction of the nobles still preserved its inconceivable fury against him. He chose the Lent season for his performances, because all the theatres being then closed, and all kinds of pleasure interdicted, he had a better chance of attracting an audience. But some of the great lords violated even the severity of Lent, and invited the fashionable world to their festivities, in order to beguile them from the temptation of attending the oratorios. Hawkins says:—"In the succeeding year [1743], he had a slight turn of that disorder which had driven him to seek relief from the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle; and, to add to this misfortune, an opposition to him and his entertainment was set on foot by some persons of distinction, who, by card assemblies and other amusements, at that time not usual in the Lent season, endeavoured to make his audiences as thin as possible. The effects of this association he felt for a season or two, in the course whereof he frequently performed to houses that would not pay his expenses." Burney[2] makes mention of a certain Lady Brown, who gave very fine concerts and "distinguished

[1] Performances during 1745:—*Deborah*, twice; *Semele*, twice; *Hercules*, twice *Samson*, twice; *Saul*, once; *Joseph*, twice; *Belshazzar*, three times; *Messiah*, twice.

[2] Page 671.

herself as a persevering enemy to Handel." In "The Commemoration"[1] (still believing that *The Messiah* failed at London, in 1741), he says that its miscarriage was "to be wholly ascribed to the resentment of the many great personages whom Handel had offended in refusing to compose for Senesino, which inflexibility being construed into insolence, was the cause of powerful oppositions, that were at once oppressive and mortifying."

Always more impassioned than men, both in their hatred and in their love, the women were the most furious against him. They it was who invented those balls and tea-parties which were so fatal to the performances of Handel. Some lines, in a satire by Smollett, prove to what petty means these great ladies had recourse. Smollett, in stigmatizing the counsels of "a man of the world," who gives him bad advice as to how to make his fortune, says :—

> "Again shall Handel raise his laurel'd brow,
> Again shall harmony with rapture glow.
> The spells dissolve—the combination breaks ;
> And Punch, no longer Frasi's rival, squeaks.
> Lo! Russell falls a sacrifice to whim,
> And starts amaz'd, in Newgate, from his dream,
> With trembling hands implores their promis'd aid,
> And sees their favour like a vision fade!"[2]

This Russell, says a note attached to his name, was "a famous mimic and singer, engaged by certain ladies of quality, who engaged him to set up a puppet-show in opposition to the oratorios of Handel; but the town not seconding the capricious undertaking to injure one against whom they were unreasonably prejudiced, deserted their manager, whom they had promised to support, and let him sink under the expenses they had entailed upon him. He was accordingly thrown into *prison*, where his disappointment got the better of his reason, and he remained in all the ecstasy of despair, till at last his *generous patronesses*, after much solicitation, were prevailed upon to collect *five pounds*, on the payment of which he was admitted into *Bedlam*, where he continued bereft of his understanding, and died in the utmost misery!"

[1] Page 25.

[2] Satire, by Smollett, called "Advice," 1746-47, in the 34th volume of the Collection of the *Works of the British Poets*.

In Newburg Hamilton's preface to his arrangement of *Samson,* there is another trace of the indignation which such proceedings caused among all true friends of art:—"As we have so great a genius amongst us, it is a pity that so many mean artifices have been lately used to blast all his endeavours, and in him the art itself. But he has the satisfaction of being encouraged by all the true lovers and real judges of music."

One of Horace Walpole's letters bears witness that there was nothing exaggerated in the complaints of those defenders of Handel:—

"Arlington Street, 24th February, 1743.

"But to come to more *real* contests [he had just been speaking of the war in Flanders], Handel has set up an oratorio against the operas, and succeeds. He has hired all the goddesses from farces, and the singers of roast-beef[1] from between the acts at both theatres, with a man with one note in his voice, and a girl without ever an one, and so they sing and make brave hallelujahs, and the good company *encore* the recitative, if it happens to have any cadence like what they call a tune."

It is of the proud Handel, of nothing less than *Samson,* of the famous English tenor Beard, of Mrs. Cibber, and of Sig[a]. Avoglio,[2] that Horace Walpole speaks in this tone. When you see a man gifted with such an intelligent and refined taste falling into these aberrations, judge how much malignant hatred must have been necessary to so stop up his mind and his ears; and imagine what must have been the disposition of the servile crowd—*servum pecus*—which always follows the torrent, like children after drums.

This unworthy war, waged against a single man by a power-

[1] "The gallery" was then accustomed to call for a song called "The Roast-beef of Old England," either between the acts or at the end of the performance, as they now call for "Hot Codlings," at Christmas. The former song is engraved in the *British Musical Miscellany* (vol. iii.) The author of both words and music was named Leveridge, and kept a coffee-house in Tavistock Street in 1726.—(*Biographia Dramatica.*) He was somewhat of a poet, an actor, a singer, and a composer. His career commenced in 1693, and in the *Anecdotes of Music* it is stated that he was singing in Covent Garden at the age of *eighty years!* He died in 1758, eighty-eight years old.

[2] These three artists created the leading parts in *Samson.*

ful class, was only too successful. Whatever they could do, Handel spared nothing in order to give to his performances all possible perfection. The names of the most celebrated instrumentalists of the epoch—Caporale the violoncellist, Lampe the bassoon-player, Snow the trumpeter, Weidemann the flutist, Castrucci, Clegg, and Dubourg, violinists, and Powell the harpist, were permanently attached to his orchestra, which was, moreover, very numerous. Having a great deal of respect for himself, he naturally had a great deal for others, and therefore, according to Burney, who was himself a member of his company, "he was accustomed to pay his performers not only honestly but generously." The pains which people took to deprive him of audiences, put it beyond his power to pay his expenses. All that he had saved out of his Irish profits, after the payment of his creditors of 1737, was soon absorbed; he contracted new debts, and was compelled for the second time to suspend his payments about the beginning of 1745. That very same year, the renown of his works was increasing more and more in Germany, and he was elected first Honorary Member of the Society of Musical Science, founded at Leipsic, and limited to a small number of members.[1]

He seems to have been for a moment overwhelmed by his second failure. Between *Belshazzar* (finished during the month of October, 1744) and the *Occasional Oratorio* (at the commencement of 1746) nothing by him can be found, except an unpublished chamber duet, dated the 31st of August, 1745. Rare interruption of work in his laborious life! We may imagine with what sadness it was filled! Not only was he ruined—he was a bankrupt; and his enemies triumphed in his humiliation. But neither his genius nor his courage abandoned him.

The *Occasional Oratorio*, which is always spoken of as a kind of pasticcio, is, on the contrary, a work of the first order, which deserves to be known. "It seems," says Mr. Macfarren, "to have been written, or rather compiled, in great haste, being com-

[1] Mezler's *Musikalische Bibliothek*, vol. iii. page 357, quoted by Mr. John Bishop, of Cheltenham, in his *Brief Memoir of George Frederick Handel*. This short notice, recently published, is decidedly the most exact account of Handel, chronologically speaking.

posed chiefly of pieces from *Israel in Egypt* and other of Handel's previous works, and such new matter only as was necessary to connect these selections."[1] Dr. William Horsley said the same thing in 1842, in the preface to his edition of *The Messiah*.

One is astonished to meet with such statements from the pens of these erudite musicians. From an accurate analysis of the score, it appears that the *Occasional Oratorio* has only borrowed the following pieces:—"I will sing unto the Lord," "He gave them hailstones," "Who is like unto thee," "Thou shalt bring them in," "The enemy said" (*Israel in Egypt*), and "God save the King" (*Coronation Anthem*). It is to be remarked that all these borrowed pieces are in the third act, whilst the first two acts are original. It seems as if the composer, after having finished the first two acts, was in a hurry to finish for some reason or other, and, for want of time, had recourse to his *Israel in Egypt* (which had not succeeded) to fill up the third act. Let us examine what he had done before he was interrupted. I here make use of the words of Mr. Lacy, who had the kindness to make the analysis for me.

"The overture has been one of the most favourite things he ever composed; and is, perhaps, more generally known and admired than any other produced by him. A flow of melody pervades it throughout. The opening is exceedingly fine, the allegro most spirited and singularly pleasing, and the march familiar to all ears. 'O Lord, how many are my foes,' which is accompanied by a solo hautboy in a most expressive strain, is a composition full of beauty. 'Jehovah, to my words give ear' (wherein the violoncello bears the prominent part), is worthy of all that can be expressed in its praise. It is of that devotional, imploring character which Handel's skill so successfully treats. Another fine composition (for a bass voice) is the air, 'His sceptre is the rod of power.' In this song of fiery energy the contrast is beautiful, and evidences the master's superior mind, at the words 'His seat is truth.' 'Jehovah is my shield' has always been a popular favourite. The chorus, 'God found them guilty,' which ends the first part, is another of his truly

[1] Preface to the handbook of *Judas Macchabæus* for the Sacred Harmonic Society.

grand compositions. The celebrated air, 'O liberty,' is generally known. It begins the second part, and is followed by another fine air, 'Prophetic visions.' It is worthy of remark, that at one part of this air, after a sudden and general pause, the voice, unaccompanied, gives forth, at the words 'War shall cease, welcome peace,' the exact subject of Arne's 'Rule Britannia.' We have next a splendid bass song, 'To God, our strength, sing loud and clear;' with an obligato trumpet accompaniment, echoed in its passages by the hautboy, and leading into a movement in which the full chorus suddenly joins with a powerful and startling effect. The air that follows, 'He has his mansion fixed on high,' is a placid and tender melody in a minor key, the accompaniments of which (the violins and violoncelli) maintain, as it were, an expressive dialogue with the voice, portraying beauties not easily to be pointed out by the pen. The 'Hallelujah,' with full instrumentation, concluding the second part, is another masterpiece. In the air, 'When warlike ensigns wave on high' (again a composition of the highest merit), one of this great writer's discriminating and happy changes, succeeding the martial strain, comes soothingly on the listener's ear and mind, at the words, 'The frighted peasant sees his fields laid bare,' and 'No pasture now the plain affords.' Another well-known and generally admired song (bass) is 'The sword that's drawn in virtue's cause.' The chorus, which takes up the last words of this song, 'Millions unborn,' was, very probably, intended by Handel as the finale. Without enumerating all the others, we will merely add the tenor song, 'Tyrants, whom no covenants bind,' 'May balmy peace,' and particularly the sweet minor air, 'When Israel, like the bounteous Nile.'[1]

Let the reader judge as to how much truth there is in the common opinion as to the *Occasional Oratorio*. Out of thirty-seven airs, duets, and choruses, this pretended compilation contains thirty-one which are perfectly new![1] Let it be observed, also, that when Handel made a pasticcio, he seldom took the trouble to transcribe it; but there is an entire MS. of the

[1] See "Catalogue."

Occasional Oratorio, and the numerous erasures bear witness to its right to be considered an original work. I can only find one explanation for the vulgar error; which is, that as the pieces which the composer made use of, when he had no time to finish the work, are all very popular, they have more especially attracted the attention of those critics who make but a superficial examination of the scores. But if these be abstracted, thirty-one original pieces remain, such as would create the reputation of thirty-one new composers.

Fortune acts as capriciously by the works of men as she does by men themselves. When she frowns upon a work everything turns against it, and its beauties, however surpassing, are regarded by none. "O liberty, thou choicest treasure," with which Handel adorned *Judas Macchabæus* (already sufficiently rich), is one of the spoils of the *Occasional Oratorio.* It is exactly in its place, with its divine echo accompaniment on the violoncello, in the MS. of the *Occasional Oratorio,* and was engraved in the edition of the same, published by Walsh before that of *Judas,* where it did not appear. It is not to be found either in the original MS. of *Judas,* nor in the copy of that oratorio which is in the Smith collection, as was originally made. It was afterwards inserted in this copy by Handel himself, who wrote it at full length with his own hand, as well as the recitative by which he causes it to be preceded, "To heaven's immortal King." The sublime copyist marked it for "Israelite woman," and at the end he has written, "Segue l'aria: 'Come, ever-smiling liberty.'"

Dr. Morell, who had written the words of that air for *Judas Macchabæus,* and who has left it in the handbook of his poem, observes parenthetically, with pleasant indifference, "the following air was designed and wrote for that place, but it got, I know not how, into the *Occasional Oratorio,* and was there incomparably set as finely executed." This even leads one to believe that the unknown compiler of the *Occasional Oratorio* may be this same philosophic Morell. Although Handel always did as he pleased with his poems, one cannot imagine that if it were otherwise he would not have effected such a fusion. It is even a strong

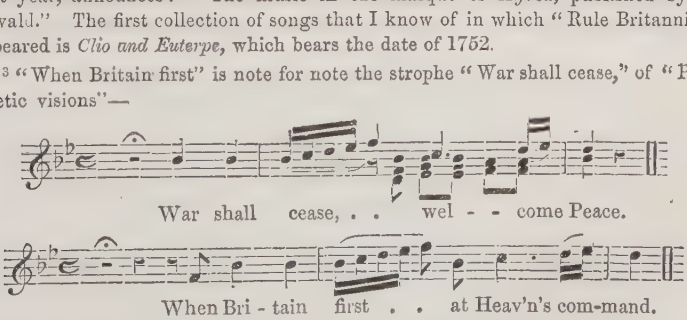
measure to have dealt in this manner by two works of the same author.[1]

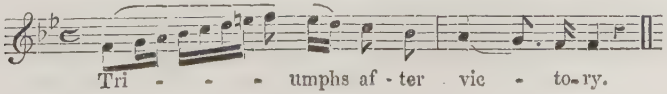
The *Marseillaise* of England, "Rule Britannia," which is taken from *Alfred*, a masque, by Dr. Arne,[2] is in great part borrowed from the poor *Occasional Oratorio*. In reality it is by Handel; for in the whole air there are only two bars which do not belong to him.[3] It will not be out of place to observe here

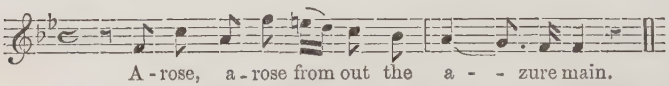
[1] Thomas Morell, who was born in 1701, and died in 1784 (*Biographia Dramatica*), belonged to the clergy, and was a good Grecian. He gained his living laboriously by his pen, and from a small benefice, such as they seem to keep in the Anglican Church expressly for their most learned ministers. He was secretary to the Society of Antiquarians; one of the writers of the *Gentleman's Magazine;* and left *Studies of History* (1 vol.); *Treasury of the Greek Poets, with Commentaries* (2 vols.); *Sermons* (1 vol.); *Annotations on Locke's Essays* (1 vol.); and *The Use and Importance of Music in the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, a Sermon delivered in* 1747. *Judas Macchabæus* was the first of his oratorios. He afterwards wrote, for Handel, *Alexander Bælus, Theodora, Jeptha, Triumph of Time;* and for Smith, *Nabal*, in 1764. There are, moreover, by him, a *Hecuba*, dated 1749, and a *Prometheus in Chains*, dated 1773.

[2] Dr. Arne's *Alfred*, which was an utter failure, appears to have belonged to 1751. In spite of the great number of books upon music published in England, it is singular how difficult it is to find the least precise proof. Busby, although he consecrates a special article to Arne, in his *History of Music*, makes mention of neither *Alfred* nor "Rule Britannia." The *Biographia Dramatica* speaks of *Alfred, an opera*, produced at Covent Garden in 1745, and of *Alfred, a masque*, produced at Drury Lane in 1751; but to neither of these is the name of Arne attached. The *Companion to the Playhouse* (1764), however, says that *Alfred, the masque*, was "about 1748." In a Dictionary of Dates, this word *about* has a negligent grace which is perfectly charming. I do not find any other musical *Alfred:* what Burney has not mentioned in musical matters must be sought at the source. I believe that Arne's composition was of 1751, because the *General Advertiser* of the 8th of May, in that year, announces:—"The music in the masque of *Alfred*, published by J. Oswald." The first collection of songs that I know of in which "Rule Britannia" appeared is *Clio and Euterpe*, which bears the date of 1752.

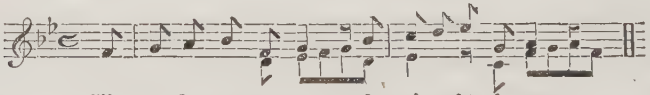
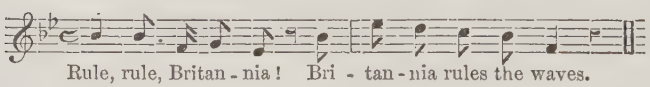
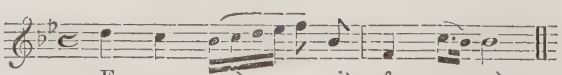
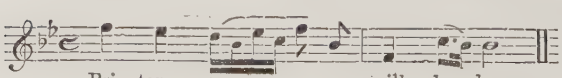
[3] "When Britain first" is note for note the strophe "War shall cease," of "Prophetic visions"—



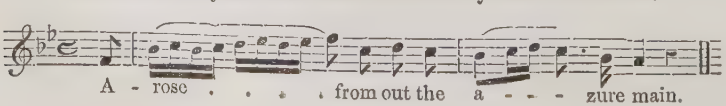
The same air in the *Occasional*, "Prophetic visions," at the words "Triumphs after victory," has supplied the middle portion of Dr. Arne's composition.

that, on the other hand, the national anthem of Great Britain, "God save the King," is sometimes erroneously attributed to Handel. There is a little French tradition which even asserts that this was written by Lully, for the occasion of Louis the Fourteenth's visit to St. Cyr, and was stolen by Handel during a visit to Paris. But Handel never set foot in France, and "God save the King" was sung in England more than thirty years before Lully came into the world. This magnificent hymn, which the author of *The Messiah* would not have disowned, belongs to Dr. John Bull, the organist to James the First, and was composed in 1607, as a thanksgiving to God for having saved the king



The phrase of "Triumph after victory" is not uncommon in Handel; we find it more or less accentuated in his earlier works.

The *refrain*, "Rule, rule, Britannia," is also taken from Handel's "Ti rendo questo cor," in *Giustino*,

Burney had already pointed out (pp. 405 and 453) that the cadence of "Rule Britannia" is from the air "Un vostro sguardo," in the same opera, at the words,



Thus, the celebrated national song, for which Dr. Arne has all the credit, is, with the exception of two bars, composed out of different fragments by Handel. Arne, who was nevertheless a very distinguished musician, has no other merit, and it is certainly a merit to have chosen them well, and to have employed them properly. The following are the only two bars which he can really claim as his own :—



from the Gunpowder Plot.[1] When kings escape from assassination it is always Providence that has saved them; but when they are slain it is never Providence that has destroyed them. That is royal logic; false as the logic of the assassin.

For the French to pretend that "God save the King" was by Lully, needs all the blindness of national prejudice. It is as if we were to attribute a page of Amyot to Voltaire, or a verse of Chaucer to Byron. It has been rightly said that composers have a style, as painters and writers have, and that Lully's style differs as widely from "God save the King" as a picture of Rubens from one by Raphael.

It is asserted that the *Occasional Oratorio* was composed to celebrate the "northern victories," that is to say, the first advantages gained in Scotland by the troops of George the Second over the army of Charles Stuart, the eldest son of the Pretender. I do not know upon what this assertion is founded, but it does not seem to be justified. The somewhat obscure title signifies what we Frenchmen call a *pièce de circonstance*—a piece for the occasion. The poem, devoid of subject, is a mixture of invocations to God, thanksgiving, and hymns in praise of liberty, which are certainly not without connection with such an occasion; but there is nothing which bears the character of a song of victory, and in the announcements of the work no kind of allusion is made to the political circumstances which are said to have inspired the composition. Let us see if we cannot discover some more satisfactory explanation.

Handel, during his disastrous season of 1746, had agreed with the subscribers to give them twenty-four performances. Being compelled to suspend operations at the sixteenth, he still owed them eight—a debt which he could not overlook. The reader may recall to mind that, in 1738, he had given a concert which (rightly or wrongly) he called "Oratorio." He set to music the work which we are now considering, in order to pay his debt, and he consecrated it exclusively to that object; calling it (as it seems to me) *An Occasional Oratorio,* in allusion

[1] This seems to me to be very well established by Richard Clarke, in his *Account of the National Anthem, &c.*

to the other accidental oratorio of 1738. It is a fact to be remarked, that in the advertisements this somewhat odd title is always accompanied by the adjective "new." The *General Advertiser* of the 31st of January, 1746, announced:—"We hear that Mr. Handel promises to exhibit some musical entertainments, on Wednesdays or Fridays the ensuing Lent, with intent to make good to the subscribers that favoured him last season the number of performances he was not then able to complete. In order thereto, he is preparing *A* New *Occasional Oratorio,* which is designed to be performed at the Theatre Royal, in Covent Garden." And in the same paper, of Saturday the 8th, "Covent Garden—On Friday next (Feb. 14th) will be performed *A* New *Occasional Oratorio,* with a new concerto on the organ. The subscribers who favoured Mr. Handel last season with their subscription, are desired to send to the office, at Covent Garden Theatre, on the day of performance, where two tickets shall be delivered to each, gratis, in order to make good the number of performances subscribed to last season."

To what could the word "new," twice repeated, refer, if not to the collection of pieces previously offered under the name of *Oratorio?* I admit that the explanation is so far-fetched that many persons may not feel satisfied with it; but, however that may be, the *New Occasional Oratorio* was three times performed, as advertised—on the 14th, the 19th, and the 26th of February. The two tickets, gratis, which were added to the subscribers' silver ticket, were in reality equivalent to nine performances, and as Handel only owed them eight, he was quits with them, principal and interest.

The public was not more favourably disposed towards him in 1746 than in 1745, for he did not exceed the number of performances necessary to the payment of his debt. On the 26th of February, the advertisement stated that "this performance will be the last of the season." It is true that it was only a duty that he fulfilled; but we like to see a man acquitting himself of his duty so gallantly.

The author of *Esther, Athaliah, Samson, Messiah,* and *Saul,* had thoroughly learnt from experience that he could not count

upon a regular audience, and opened no more similar subscriptions. He gave his oratorios every year, like any other form of entertainment. He addressed himself to the great mass of the public, without any previous engagement; reserving the liberty of limiting to his taste the number of his performances, which varied thenceforth from ten to thirteen.

The war with the Pretender incontestably gave occasion to one of the masterpieces of this *vir probus*—*Judas Macchabæus*—which was written in thirty-two days (between the 9th of July and the 11th of August, 1746), and was produced at Covent Garden on the 1st of April, during the season of 1747.[1] This oratorio was demanded from the composer by Frederick Prince of Wales, to celebrate the return of his not very much beloved brother, the Duke of Cumberland, who, on the 16th of April, 1746, had won the decisive battle of Culloden.[2]

Handel pointed out the subject to Thomas Morell. A passage in the handbook furnishes a new proof that he used his poems very cavalierly. At the entrance of the Messenger in the third act, it is stated:—"Several incidents were introduced here by way of messenger and chorus, in order to make the story more complete; but it was thought they would make the performance too long, and therefore were not set, and therefore not printed; this being designed not as a finished poem, but merely as an oratorio." Morell understood what was his part. He knew that a libretto should be entirely made for the music, and that it has only a secondary place in the collaboration of the poet and the composer. Handel, for his part, was perfectly convinced of this truth, and did not disquiet himself much about "making the story more complete," when, by doing so, the music would have been rendered less clear. We often found in his manuscripts words of recitatives written below the staves without notes; and we may infer from this that he wrote in advance, more or less of the recitatives which he was composing, and that in this last operation he passed over whatever he judged to be too lengthy.

[1] Performances in 1747:—*Occasional Oratorio*, three times; *Joseph*, three times; *Judas Macchabæus*, six times.

[2] *Biographia Dramatica.*

However little importance Morell attached to his *Judas Macchabæus*, he dedicated it to the conqueror in these words:—"To His Royal Highness Prince William, Duke of Cumberland, this faint portraiture of a truly wise, valiant, and virtuous commander, as to the possessor of the like noble qualities, is, with most profound respect and veneration, inscribed by His Royal Highness's most obedient and most devoted servant, the author." This is addressed to a man who pitilessly murdered as many prisoners after the battle as his courage had slain enemies during the combat. Will conquerors always be "wise and virtuous" in the eye of poets?

The political circumstances, as much as the sublimity of the composition, obtained for the new oratorio a success which has never deserted it. Handel himself performed it thirty-eight times, and on the thirtieth occasion the receipts amounted to £400.[1] The Jews contributed greatly to its popularity. Finding in it one of the finest episodes in their national history, they all went to hear it. It is still ranked, and justly so, beside the greatest works of the composer—*Israel*, *Samson*, and *The Messiah*. Yet the *Morning Herald* of the 19th of February, 1852, says that—"The airs of *Judas Macchabæus*, like those in MANY other works of Handel, are occasionally FEEBLE and INSIPID, but *two* or *three* of them are exactly the reverse, and, *in the hands of singers of ability*, BECOME both *important* and *interesting*." If Dante had been acquainted with the author of that article, he would have put him into the hottest place in his *Inferno*.

The celebrated chorus, "See the conquering hero" (which has become one of the *pièces de resistance* for the Société des Concerts at Paris, by whom it is given every year), did not originally belong to *Judas*, but to *Joshua*. In the copy of *Judas*, in the Smith collection, this chorus is added; a proof that it did not form part of the oratorio at the beginning. It was printed for the first time by Walsh, in the edition of *Joshua*, which appeared a year after that of *Judas*. Randall, in engraving the two works at a later period, exclusively attributed it to

[1] *Biographia Dramatica.*

Joshua. Arnold, who never discussed, extricated himself from the difficulty by putting it into both. Mr. Macfarren makes a great mistake when he affirms positively, in the preface to his edition of *Judas* for the Handel Society, that there is no original MS. of this chorus in existence; and all the observations which he founds upon that error fall of their own accord. There is no doubt that "See the conquering hero" is in the MS. of *Joshua*. It is not even a subsequent addition, but is in its proper place, after the recitative, "In bloom of youth." It is addressed to the youthful Othniel, when he returns from the conquest of the city of Debir. *Judas Macchabæus* was revived on the 26th of February, 1748, and on the 1st of the following April it was announced "with additions." This performance of the 1st of April, 1748, was perhaps the anniversary of the festival of 1747, and it may be that "See the conquering hero," which had excited the enthusiasm of the audience in *Joshua* (which had been performed on the 9th of March, 1748), was one of the "additions." It was ever afterwards left in *Judas*, which never lost its attractions for the musical public.

"From the general construction of this chorus," says Crosse, "and the leading accompaniments being given first to the horns and afterwards to the flutes, it would appear that Handel aimed at producing something to please the popular ear. It is related of him, that after playing it over to a friend, who happened to call upon him just as it was finished, he asked, 'How do you like it?' and being answered, 'Not so well as some things I have heard of yours,' he replied, 'Nor I either; but you will live to see it a greater favourite with the people than my other fine things'—a prediction which, happily, can scarcely be allowed to have been verified." It is Miss Hawkins, in her *Anecdotes of Music*, who reports this conversation as having taken place between her father and Handel. It is impossible, however, but that she has made some mistake. Her father would certainly not have failed to record *himself* such an extraordinary opinion; and Handel was too sensible a man to say, "my other fine things." Finally, this chorus does not delight the vulgar only; it has been for more than a century,

and will still remain, the admiration of men of the purest and the most elevated taste.

It is not performed at the present day with scrupulous exactness. Handel never intended that the three strophes should be all sung in chorus. In the MS., the second part of the strophe of the Virgins, at the words "Myrtle wreaths," is inscribed: "Sig^{a}. Cassarini and Sig^{a}. Galli." They therefore sung these two verses alone, and the suspension must have certainly given greater brilliancy to the full chorus which follows. In assigning the piece to Sig^{a}. Galli, there was certainly an anomaly which the colourless style of performing oratorios could alone prevent from being shocking. She was charged with the part of Othniel, whose glory is being celebrated by the chorus, and it follows that when she sang "Myrtle wreaths," she was singing her own triumph.

In the same year that *Judas Macchabæus* was produced, Gluck, then thirty years old, produced *La Caduta de' Giganti* at the King's Theatre, which had been reopened in 1746 by Lord Middlesex. This was intended as another compliment to the Duke of Cumberland. It was only performed five times;[1] but it should not be forgotten that it was only a piece for the occasion. Walsh has included five *morceaux* from it in the ninth volume of his *Delizie dell' Opera*—a collection, in eleven volumes, of the principal airs in all the operas of that period.

The name of Handel reappeared also at the Italian Theatre in 1747, attached to a certain *Lucius Verus*—a compilation made up of airs taken from his operas. Walsh published "*Favourite Songs in Lucius Verus*, by Mr. Handel;" but this is a piece of Jesuitism. The book is "by Mr. Handel" only, inasmuch as it comprises the reimpression of plates containing ten pieces, borrowed from *Ricardo, Radamisto, Admetus, Siroe,* and *Tamerlane.* The editor has done nothing but engrave "*Lucius Verus*" beneath each piece, with the name of the new singer. For example, at the head of "Cara sposa," of *Radamisto*, may still be found "sung by Sig^{r}. Senesino," and at the foot, "*Lucius Verus.*" In this manner we learn that there were not less than

[1] *Dictionary of Musicians.*

five ladies singing in *Lucius Verus*, Sig^e. Galli, Frasi, Casarini, Sibilla, and Miss Pirker. The last three, although little known, must have had a certain amount of talent, for they sang the pieces which were written for Senesino. The four Italian ladies figure in the oratorios of the same period, and they were not, therefore, exclusively attached to the theatre of the manager-lord.

Lucius Verus is classed among the works of Handel, in my opinion unreasonably so, for it does not contain a single original note. From no portion of it does it appear that the author of *Ricardo*, *Siroe*, and *Tamerlane* had anything to do with that confection of old goods, or that he ever sanctioned it by his consent. Artistic productions were not then protected against any species of piracy. When they had once appeared, they became everybody's prey, and were made use of in a manner which is equally offensive to reason and to equity. There is only one excuse for the rivals who thus adorned themselves with borrowed plumes, that they have set a high value upon him whom they despoiled. In the *General Advertiser* of the 13th November, 1747, an advertisement appeared which was conceived in the following terms:—"Yesterday was rehearsed, at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, the opera of *Lucius Verus*. This drama consists of airs borrowed entirely from Mr. Handel's favourite operas, and so may (probably) be justly styled the most exquisite composition of harmony ever offered to the publick. Those lovers of musick among us whose ears have been charmed with Faustina, Faranello, Senesini (*sic*), Cuzzoni, and other great performers, will now have an opportunity of reviving their former delight; which, if not so transporting as then, may yet prove a very high entertainment. Mr. Handel is acknowledged (universally) so great a master of the lyre, that nothing urged in favour of his capital performances can reasonably be considered as a puff."

But worse things than *Lucius Verus* had been committed in this manner. The *Weekly Chronicle* of Saturday, the 7th of December, 1734, contains this paragraph—"Last Saturday, there was a rehearsal of the opera of *Otho*, in the Haymarket, before a numerous audience of the first quality." Burney has given an

account of all the representations of *Otho* during that same month of December, at the theatre in the Haymarket, then in the occupation of the company patronized by the nobility. An *Ottone in Villa* had been given at Venice, in 1729, by Vivaldi; but as only *Otho* is mentioned without the author's name, one is led to believe (with Burney) that it was Handel's own opera that was sung at the theatre, which had been opened for the express purpose of ruining him. Moreover, what other body of the community, except the nobility, could bring together an audience "of the first quality?" But we must be permitted to doubt the excellence of "the quality" of such an iniquity. In 1743, when Handel had nothing to do with the Italian theatre, Lord Middlesex, who was then the manager, gave "*Roxana, or Alexander in India,* composed by Mr. Handel, with dances and other decorations, entirely new.[1]" This was the *Alessandro* of 1728, under a new name; but the handbook of this *Roxana* of 1743, "*composed by Mr. Handel,*" contains no fewer than nine airs which belong neither to *Alessandro* nor to any other of his operas, and, nevertheless, no intimation is given of their introduction. Whilst he was alive, therefore, they sung under his name nine airs which did not belong to him! It is true that they suppressed twelve belonging to the original work; but not even M. Azais himself could regard that as a sufficient compensation.[2]

It is certain that, in 1747, Handel was an utter stranger to the theatre. His life had taken a regular and uniform course. He composed one and sometimes two oratorios during the dull season; and, when Lent arrived, he produced them in a series of twelve performances, accompanied by some of his former works. Thus it was that at Covent Garden, in 1748, *Alexander Bælus,* which he had completed on the 4th of July, 1747, appeared on the 9th and 23rd of March, and *Joshua,* which was written in a month, from the 19th of July to the 19th of the following August.[3]

[1] *London Daily Post,* 8th November, 1743.

[2] M. Azais is a French philosopher, whose doctrine is that good and evil compensate each other in the creation.

[3] Performances of 1748:—*Joshua,* four times; *Alexander Bælus,* three times; *Judas,* six times.

Joshua, which may be reproached with having too many recitatives, contains some supreme beauties. Achsah's air, "Hark, 'tis the linnet," with a simple accompaniment of the violin and flute, is charmingly graceful, and will always be certain of its effect. I am surprised that concert singers do not avail themselves of it. "Heroes, when with glory burning," is one of these valiant and heroic inspirations in which Handel excelled. In the march, there is an admirable mingling of religious feeling with martial audacity. Shield, one of the veterans of English music, says, in the appendix to his theoretical book, *Introduction to Harmony*:—"Travelling from London to Taplow with the father of modern harmony [Haydn], and having, the preceding evening, observed his countenance expressing rapturous astonishment during the concert of antient music, I embraced the favourable opportunity of inquiring how he estimated the chorus in *Joshua*, 'The nations tremble.' The reply was, 'He had long been acquainted with music, but never knew half its powers before he heard it, and he was perfectly certain that only one inspired author ever did, or ever would, pen so sublime a composition.'" To make this "wonderful chorus" known in foreign cities, where English oratorios are not collected, Mr. Shield has given the score of it in his work, but regrets that his limits would not allow the insertion of its impressive introductory air, "Glory to God." "Powerful guardians," another air in *Joshua*, had an immense and deserved success. It was afterwards added, in a detached leaf, to the handbooks of *Judas Macchabæus* and of *Joseph*. It cannot be doubted that Handel himself frequently introduced into the performances of his successful oratorios some of the airs which had been applauded in such of the others as had been less favourably received.

The copy of *Joshua* in the Smith collection perfectly clears up a difficulty in a matter of detail which has hitherto remained unexplained, and thus gives an additional value to that precious collection. After the recitative, "Brethren and friends," at the moment when the Hebrews are about to attack Jericho, the original MS. has a bar of music for the kettle-drum, followed by an etc., over which is written "Flourish of warlike instruments."

Handel usually composed separately all the instrumental music, and here he jotted down a bar of the "flourish" as it came into his mind, and added "etc.," reserving the development for some future period. The question was, where was the piece of martial music to be found? It could not be discovered anywhere. Walsh's edition does not even mention it. The editions of Randall and Arnold, and the copy in Mr. Lennard's collection, have only the bar of the original MS., with the indication, "Flourish of warlike instruments." Nevertheless, the handbook of the first performance, and another handbook dated Oxford, 1756, have at this place "Warlike symphony." The Hebrews had certainly marched into Jericho to music; but what music? The question was asked in vain; when the copy in the Smith collection, being the very one which Handel himself used in conducting the oratorio, comes to reveal the secret. The solitary bar for the kettle-drum in the original MS., which had been also copied there, is effaced, and on the following page is written the bass part of a little symphony, in which Mr. Lacy recognizes a warlike symphony from the opera of *Ricardo Primo*. Therefore, Handel gave up his first idea, either because it inspired him no further, or because he had no time to develop it, and we know now that he introduced into *Joshua*, in 1748, a flourish from an opera which he had produced twenty-one years before. It will be seen by the "Catalogue," where these questions are more naturally in their place, that very few similar questions remain which are not now to be thoroughly cleared up.

Since it is said that the public will not come to hear such works as *Joshua*, one ought to be very much obliged to Mr. Surman and the London Sacred Harmonic Society for giving them at the minor performances, in the smaller concert-room, at Exeter Hall, which are in addition to their regular winter entertainments.

Handel, proceeding in the manner which has been described, wrote *Solomon* between the 5th of May and the 19th of June, and *Susannah* from the 11th of July to the 24th of August, 1748. He was then sixty-three years old! They were per-

formed at Covent Garden during the season of 1749.[1] The couplets in *Susannah*, "Ask if yon damask rose," were worth a fortune. They were engraved in every form. The *Lady's Magazine* gave them to its subscribers even as late as 1793. They were sung with other words, "Let rakes and libertines," in *Love in a Village*, a comic opera, produced in 1762.

The three double choruses which succeed each other at the beginning of *Solomon* are all composed in the grandest style, forming an harmonic effect which is at the same time very complicated and very powerful. The chorus, "May no rash intruder," is a melodious inspiration of charming originality, and which nothing, even in the works of the Italian masters, can surpass. The double chorus in the second act, "From the censer curling rise," and the magnificent air, "Sacred raptures," which used to be frequently sung at the festivals, deserve all their celebrity. The air belonging to the true mother, "Can I see my infant gored," is touching and expressive to the last degree. In this work we constantly perceive that Handel had preserved an extraordinary freshness of ideas. The parts of the two women, which are admirably distinct, prove also that he had lost nothing of the vigour of his dramatic conception. Nevertheless, *Solomon* was only given twice in 1749, and twice again ten years afterwards, when Handel revived it in the very year of his death.

In going to the root of the matter, one feels surprised at the small number of times on which the oratorios of Handel were performed during his life. Altogether, from 1743 down to his death in 1759, he only gave one hundred and ninety-two performances (not including the eleven for the Foundling Hospital), an average of twelve every year; among which *The Messiah*, *Judas*, and *Samson* count for eighty-seven. After those three oratorios, the compositions which were most frequently performed were, *Joseph*, eleven times; *Joshua*, *Jeptha*, and *Belshazzar*, each seven; *Alexander's Feast* reappeared eight times during that period; *The Choice of Hercules* and *Saul*, seven; *Athalia*, four; *Deborah* and *Esther*, three, &c. It may be

[1] Performances of 1749:—*Susannah*, four times; *Hercules*, twice; *Samson*, four times; *Solomon*, twice; *Messiah*, four times.

relied upon that these details are perfectly exact. They have been collected out of the journals of the period, as they are to be found in the British Museum. The imperfect state of the collections anterior to that epoch does not allow of the same examination, with any degree of certainty, as to the period between 1732 (when *Esther* made its first appearance before the public) and 1742. In the appendices to the "Catalogue" will be found all the performances noted, which will be always serviceable for reference.

The MS. of *Solomon* is written upon all kinds of paper, and of all dimensions, from the smallest oblong to the largest folio. It may be supposed that the composer's affairs were still in a very bad state, and that he found it necessary to be saving, by using up all the remnants of paper which he happened to have about him. Nevertheless, he offered the tickets for the first representation—"Pit and boxes to be put together, at half a guinea each; first gallery, five shillings; second gallery, three shillings and sixpence."[1] When we see him raising the price of his places beyond eight shillings (which was the regular price), we may judge that he counted on the general interest excited when a new work by him was expected. It must have been indeed a wonderful sight for his cotemporaries to see these great works following each other with such rapidity. However perfect may have been the confidence in the strength of the old man, the fate of Milo of Crotona was always to be dreaded.

But it seems as if the fatigues of old age were unknown to him. Whilst he directed his performances during the Lent of 1748, during which he played every evening (as his custom was) one or two concertos upon the organ, he wrote the music for the royal fireworks, which were exhibited on Thursday, the 27th of April, 1749. "The machine," says the *Gentleman's Magazine* for this month, "was situated in the Green Park, 500 feet from his Majesty's Library, and represented a magnificent Dorick temple, from which extended two wings, terminated by pavillions, 114 feet in height, to the top of his Majesty's arms; 410 feet long. Invented and designed by the Chevalier Ser-

[1] *General Advertiser* for 17th of March, 1749.

vandoni. Disposition of the fire-work: after a grand overture of warlike instruments, composed by Mr. Handel, a signal was given for the commencement of the fire-work, which opened by a royal salute of 101 brass ordnance, viz., 71 six-pounders, 20 twelve-pounders, and 10 twenty-four pounders."

The construction caught fire, and his Majesty's Library narrowly escaped being burnt. This display of fireworks was to celebrate the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was concluded on the 7th of October, 1748, and which put an end to a long war, by ensuring to the throne of England the inheritance of the Hanoverian Crown.

In addition to the overture, which was played by fifty-six instruments,[1] this music is divided into five movements—two Allegro, one Bourée, one Siciliana, and two minuets, in which are violins, violas, violoncellos, and double-basses. Below the Siciliana, the MS. bears the words "La paix," and below the second Allegro, "La rejouissance." Doubtless this accompanied a transparency symbolical of Pleasures, and the Siciliana one bearing an allegorical representation of Peace. Handel always varied the effects of sonority with extreme care. The Allegro of "La rejouissance" has this direction:—"The first time with trumpets, 2nd time with French horns, the 3rd time all together." At the first minuet, originally set for "trombe, tympani, hautbois, viole, bassons" (trumpets, kettle-drums, hautboys, viols, and bassoons), it is written—"la seconda volta colli corni di caccia, hautbois, bassons e tympani; la terza volta tutti insieme and the side-drums" (the second time with hunting horns, hautboys, bassoons, and kettle-drums; the third time all together, and the side-drums).

People had doubtless been talking about the fifty-six wind-instruments which were to lead this musical broadside. Curiosity was excited to the highest point. The *General Advertiser* of the 22nd of April, 1749, says:—"Yesterday there was the brightest and most numerous assembly ever known at the Spring Gardens, Vauxhall, on occasion of the rehearsal of Mr. Handel's music for the Royal fireworks." The *Gentleman's*

[1] See page 136.

Magazine for April, 1749, says:—"Friday 21, was performed, at Vauxhall Gardens, the rehearsal of the music for the fireworks, by a band of 100 musicians, to an audience of above 12,000 persons (tickets 9*s*. 6*d*.) So great a resort occasioned such a stoppage on London Bridge, that no carriage could pass for three hours. The footmen were so numerous as to obstruct the passage, so that a scuffle ensued, in which some gentlemen were wounded." Twelve thousand persons at 9*s*. 6*d*. per ticket would give £5700. Such a receipt appears incredible. Surely there is a printer's error here. The *General Advertiser* puts the tickets at 2*s*. 6*d*., which is far more reconcilable with an audience of 12,000 persons. Even that would bring £1500; which is, after all, a good round sum.

Firework Music figured for a long time afterwards in the programme of almost every concert; but it is not to be supposed that it was performed with all the horns and trumpets of the Green Park.

Musicians have not so high an opinion of *Fireworks Music* as of *Water Music*. Walsh published the two works for eight instruments, and for the harpsichord. Messrs. Lonsdale and Co. have lately put forward an edition of the first one for the piano, upon the occasion of the peace with Russia. Very often, on both sides of the quarrel, wars are finished with a display of fireworks. Sad mockery!

Handel himself caused *Fireworks Music* to be performed at the Foundling Hospital, a few days after the public rejoicings of the 27th of April. "On the 4th of May, 1749," says Mr. Brownlow,[1] "he attended the Committee at the Hospital, and offered a performance of vocal and instrumental music; the money arising therefrom to be applied towards the finishing of the chapel." This performance is thus alluded to in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that month:—"Saturday, 27th.—The Prince and Princess of Wales, with a great number of persons of quality and distinction, were at the chapel of the Foundling Hospital to hear several pieces of vocal and instrumental musick, composed by George Frederick Handel, Esq., for the benefit of

[1] *Memoranda of the Foundling Hospital*, 8vo, 1747.

the foundation. 1°. The musick for the late fireworks, and the anthem on the peace; 2°. select pieces from the oratorio of *Solomon*, relating to the dedication of the Temple; and, 3°, several pieces composed for the occasion, the words taken from Scripture, and applicable to the charity and its benefactors. There was no collection, but the tickets were at half a guinea, and the audience above a thousand, besides a gift of £2000 from His Majesty, and £50 from an unknown."

"For this act of benevolence," adds Mr. Brownlow, "on the part of Handel, he was immediately enrolled as one of the Governors and Guardians of the Hospital." The *General Advertiser* of the 27th of May says that at this performance there were "above 100 voices and performers." The "pieces composed for the occasion" form an anthem, and are to be found in a volume copied by Smith, with seventeen pages in the handwriting of the master, at the office of the Secretary for the Hospital.[1] They are still entirely unpublished; and it is to be hoped that the Committee of the Hospital will give them to the public. Such an act of gratitude towards the author would not be unprofitable; for, like the Cid, whose name won victories after his death, Handel's unknown anthem would be the occasion of fresh profit to the establishment to whose service his charity consecrated it a century ago.

Theodora was produced during the following year, on the 16th of March, "with a new concerto on the organ."[2] One might suppose that this time the athlete was exhausted. The newly discovered saint was very badly received; but nevertheless we read in the *Biographia Dramatica*:—"We are informed that Mr. Handel valued the oratorio of *Theodora* more than any other performance of the same kind. Being once asked whether he did not consider the grand chorus in *The Messiah* as his masterpiece, 'No,' said he, 'I think the chorus, "He saw the lovely youth," at the end of the second part in *Theodora*, far beyond it.'"

[1] See "Catalogue," *Foundling Hospital Anthem*, 1749.

[2] Performances during 1750:—*Saul*, twice; *Judas Macchabæus*, three times; *Theodora*, four times; *Samson*, twice; *The Messiah*, once (11th of April).

There are several amusing anecdotes about this *Theodora*, which Handel seems to have loved as a mother does her weakly son. Burney says:—"In 1749, his *Theodora* was so unfortunately neglected, that he was glad to give orders for admission to any professors who did not perform. Two of these gentlemen having afterwards applied to Handel for an order to hear *The Messiah*, he cried out, 'Oh, your sarvant, mein herren, you are tamnaple tainty, you would not co to *Teodora;* der was room enough to tance dere when dat was perform!'" At the second performance he treated the matter with witty pleasantry:—"A gentleman, who was on intimate terms of friendship with Mr. Handel, imagining it to be a losing night, was willing to avoid speaking to him that evening; but he, observing him at some distance, went up to him, and said, 'Will you be here next Friday night? I will play it *to you*.'"[1] But on another occasion he was not so tractable; for, upon hearing "that a person of note from the city had undertaken to engage for all the boxes, if it was represented again, 'He is a fool,' replied Handel; 'the Jews will not come to it as to *Judas Macchabæus*, because it is a Christian story; and the ladies will not come, because it is a virtuous one.'"[2] When he said that, he must have been thinking of the soirées and balls which the great ladies gave in order to deprive him of his audiences.

This dear *Theodora* remained mistress of his heart to the end, although she never brought him anything but an empty house. He gave it again a short time before his death. In the British Museum there is a handbook of it, dated 1759. It contained, however, at least four fine things; for in the programmes of the Concerts of Ancient Music we often meet with the two choruses, "He saw the lovely youth," and "Venus laughing," and with the two airs, "Lord, to thee," and "Angels ever bright and fair."

Handel brought the performances of 1750 to a close on the 11th of April. On the 15th of May he conducted *The Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital. From the MS. of the *Choice of Hercules*, it is known that he composed that work from the 28th

[1] *Biographia Dramatica.* [2] *Ibid.*

of June to the 5th of July; and, nevertheless, the *General Advertiser* of Tuesday, the 21st of August, 1750, suddenly announced this piece of news:—"Mr. Handel, who went to Germany to visit his friends some time since, and, between the Hague and Harlaem, had the misfortune to be overturned, by which he was terribly hurt, is now out of danger."

It is difficult to refuse credence to a paragraph in a newspaper relating such facts; but however extraordinary may have been the activity of the great musician, then sixty-five years of age, it is not less difficult to make this journey agree with the precise dates above related. On the 5th of July he signed the *Choice of Hercules* (as I suppose) at London, and on the 21st of August he is represented as having recovered from a dangerous fall, which had happened to him at the Hague, during a recent visit to Germany! He is very capable of having written the *Choice of Hercules,* not in London, but on the journey. In Germany, they still preserve the tradition of this visit. Forkel, in his Life of Bach, relates that the latter had always the greatest desire to make the acquaintance of his great compatriot, without being able to satisfy it. "Handel," says he, "came three times from London to Halle, his native town. On his first visit, about the year 1719, Bach was still at Coethen, only four German miles from Halle. He was immediately informed of Handel's arrival, and lost not a moment in paying him a visit; but Handel left Halle the very day of his arrival. At the time of Handel's second visit (between 1730 and 1740) Bach was at Leipzig, but ill.[1] As soon, however, as he was informed of Handel's arrival at Halle, he immediately sent his eldest son, William Friedemann, thither, with a very polite invitation to visit him at Leipzig; but Handel regretted that he could not come. On Handel's third visit, in 1752 or 1753, Bach was dead."[2]

The third journey of which Forkel makes mention, must have

[1] After he had settled in England, Handel visited Germany in 1716 (see page 44), in 1720 (see page 53), and in 1737 (see page 191); perhaps, also, he was there in 1733 (see page 159).

[2] *Life of Bach,* by Forkel, German edition, page 47; English translation, page 79. Quoted in the *Brief Memoir of George Frederick Handel,* by John Bishop.

been that which he made in August, 1750. From 1752 to 1753 Handel lost his sight.

The oratorio season of 1751 comprised the *Choice of Hercules*, an "interlude" of four personages, with three *choruses*, taken by an unknown compiler, almost word for word, from Spenser's *Polymetis*, and produced on the 1st of March.[1] Hawkins declares that when Handel quitted Covent Garden, he was indebted to Rich, the proprietor of the theatre, and that to acquit himself of the debt, he wrote an English opera, *Alcestes*, to words by Smollett; he adds, that the opera, although prepared at great expense, not having been performed, the composer applied the music to Dryden's *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*.[2] Here Hawkins confuses the facts. The *Alcestes*, by Smollett (who was born in 1721), belongs at the soonest to 1746;[3] whilst the music which Handel set to it certainly belongs to 1749,[4] and was employed, not for Dryden's *Ode*, which was composed in 1739, but for *Choice of Hercules*. Hawkins, although very studious, has permitted several similar mistakes to slip into his immense work, and, thanks to the credit which he most justly enjoys, these have misled writers who copy without verifying. Although Crosse is not one of these, he followed him upon this point, and adduces, in proof of the flexibility of music, the application made of that belonging to the opera of 1749 to Dryden's *Ode*, which was composed ten years before. The "Catalogue" will explain the relation between *Alcestes* and *Choice of Hercules*. It will be seen also, that Handel took three pieces from his forsaken opera to join them to a revival of *Alexander Bœlus*.

It must be understood that if Handel, honourable man as he was, made such a use of the music of *Alcestes*, which was

[1] Performances of 1751:—*Belshazzar*, three times; *Alexander's Feast* and *Choice of Hercules* together, four times; *Esther*, once; *Judas Macchabæus*, twice; after which the theatres were closed, on the occasion of the death of Frederick Prince of Wales, who died when only forty-four years old.

[2] Page 878.

[3] "About 1746 Smollett wrote, for Covent Garden, an opera called *Alcestes*, which was never acted or printed, owing, it is said, to a dispute between the author and the manager."—*Biography of Smollett*, in *Works of the English Poets*.

[4] See "Catalogue," *Choice of Hercules*, 1749.

written to pay a debt, it is only because Rich gave it up with this intended English opera.

Amongst his bibliographical rarities, Mr. Ayrton preserves a handbook of the oratorio of *Hercules*, printed in 1749, which contains the following memorandum in old manuscript:—"The last chorus of the second act, 'Still caressing,'[1] is taken from a musical entertainment, intended by Rich, called *Alcestes*. The song parts by T. M., and set by Mr. Handel. But Mr. R. rejected it, as being too good for his performers." From which it follows, that if Rich did not produce *Alcestes*, it was because he did not wish it to be murdered, and that *Alcestes* was what we very improperly call *a comic opera*, a piece in prose, with songs intermixed, since T. M. (doubtless, Thomas Morell) had written "the song parts." In *Alcestes* (the *Alcides* of Arnold) there are really only thirteen musical pieces, although the opera is in four acts. As this memorandum agrees with Hawkins and with Smollett's biographer in calling the English opera *Alcestes*, Arnold is evidently in the wrong when he calls it *Alcides*. In the short and solitary note which he has taken the trouble to add to the forty volumes of his edition, he explains that the copy of the opera, which was forgotten at the theatre, and afterwards recovered, was given to him.

[1] The author of the note, the beginning of which is cut by the binding of the book, doubtless referred to *Alcestes*, to which "Still caressing" belongs. This chorus was introduced in the revival of *Hercules* in 1749, but is not a part of the mythological oratorio.

CHAPTER X.

1752—1759.

"Jeptha"—Handel smitten with Blindness—He continues to give Annual Performances of Oratorios—One of Handel's Conversations—His Genius no longer Disputed—"Triumph of Time and Truth"—Death of Handel—His Music Performed Everywhere, to the Exclusion of all others—His Influence—Pasticcio attributed to him.

On the 26th of February, 1752,[1] Handel produced *Jeptha*, the last of his works. It was the song of the swan. The air, "Waft her, angels," was invariably performed at the festivals, when these musical solemnities were composed of detached pieces. "In gentle murmurs" is a most graceful invention, and if "Farewell, ye limpid springs" were used in concerts, it would be as successful as the admirable "Before my eyes," of *Robin des Bois*. I do not hesitate to assert that there is no modern Italian quintett which is more melodious than that of "All that is in Hamor." And how many other splendid things are there, without even mentioning the incomparable recitative, "Deeper and deeper!" It is scarcely to be believed that such beauties could be begotten in a head that had numbered sixty-seven winters. Cradock says that in June, 1774, the whole of *Jeptha*, the *Utrecht Te Deum*, *Jubilate*, and the *Coronation Anthems*, were sung at Leicester: "Lord Sandwich both days took the kettle-drums." I have a handbook of this oratorio, which was printed for the "Gloucester Music Meeting" of 1772. Our fathers were much happier than we; for they could sometimes listen to these great works, which modern conductors (with the single exception of Mr. Surman) leave slumbering in their glory.

Commenced on the 21st of January, 1751, *Jeptha* was only

[1] Performances of 1752:—*Joshua*, three times; *Jeptha*, three times; *Samson*, three times; *Judas Macchabæus*, three times; *The Messiah*, twice.

finished on the 30th of August. It is the only work that Handel ever took so long about; he was working at it when the *gutta serena* compelled him to desist. The punctuality with which he dated all his compositions permits us to fix the precise epoch of the attack. The first and second acts were written between the 21st of January and the 27th of February; the third was only commenced on the 18th of June. The *General Advertiser* of the 15th of June informs us that "on Thursday last, Mr. Handel arrived in town from Cheltenham Wells, where he had been to make use of the waters." The third act was partly completed on the 17th of July, but the author was compelled once more to stop; he gave the last touch to this work, which had been so painfully composed, and proceeded to the filling up of the orchestration (the part which he always reserved to the last) only on the 13th of August, and could not finish it before the 30th. Thus, we may see him fighting hand to hand with the malady, seizing, and once more seizing the pen, as suffering tore it from his grasp. Courage did not fail him, but his sight was fast going. By the last pages of the MS., it appears only too plainly that his vision was no longer clear when he traced them. Yet, sick as he was, the intrepid old man arose once more when charity had need of him. It has been already noted that he gave two performances of *The Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital, on the 18th of April and on the 16th of May, 1751,[1] "with an extempore on the organ." At this time he was indeed forced to improvise, since the *gutta serena* compelled him to lay aside *Jephtha*.

He submitted three times to a painful operation, the last time in 1752. "Yesterday," says the *Theatrical Register* of the 4th of May, in that year, "George Frederick Handel, Esq., was couch'd by Wm. Bramfield, Esq., surgeon to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, when it was thought there was all imaginable hopes of success by the operation, which must give the greatest pleasure to all lovers of music."

Alas, no! blind he was to remain, as his mother had been in her old days. On the 27th of January, 1753, a journal

[1] See page 269.

announced that "Mr. Handel has at length, unhappily, quite lost his sight. Upon his being couch'd some time since, he saw so well, that his friends flattered themselves his sight was restored for a continuance; but a few days have entirely put an end to their hopes."

Handel blind—Beethoven deaf! Sad similitude!

This cruel misfortune afflicted him at first profoundly; but when he was compelled to recognize that the evil was without a remedy, his manly soul got the upper hand, he resigned himself to his fate and resolved to continue his oratorio performances.

At that time there were no orchestral conductors, armed with a baton, as we know them now. The maestro used to conduct in person upon the organ, or upon the harpsichord, and gave the movements. In this sense he conducted the orchestra and the choruses; but the leader of the orchestra (properly so called) was the first violin, who marked the time with his bow, as those who know how to play upon the violin do even to the present day. Habeneck never conducted the famous Société des Concerts du Conservatoire of Paris with anything but his bow. Handel says in his letter from Dublin (in which he gave an account of his performances)—"for the instruments, they are really excellent; Mr. Dubourg being at the head of them." Dubourg was a violinist.

When Handel became blind, he thought he could no longer preside upon the organ, and sent for his pupil, Christopher Smith, who was then travelling in France, "to assist him in the approaching Lent season."[1] Smith quitted everything to please him, and they began the season on the 9th of March, 1753.[2] At each performance, Handel played as usual a concerto on the organ, which was, for the great mass of the public, one of the great attractions offered on those occasions. *Samson*, one of his favourite oratorios, was in the programme of the season. In spite of all his moral energy, the author could not listen untroubled to the pathetic air of the sightless Hercules of the

[1] *Anecdotes of Handel, &c.*, page 44.

[2] Performances of 1753:—*Alexander's Feast*, with the *Choice of Hercules*, twice; *Jephtha*, twice; *Judas*, three times; *Samson*, three times; *The Messiah*, once.

Hebrews, in which he gave utterance to his immense grief—"Total eclipse! No sun, no moon!" Then it was that they saw the grand old man, who was seated at the organ, grow pale and tremble, and when they led him forward to the audience, which was applauding, many persons present were so forcibly affected that they were moved even to tears.[1] And we may still be sharers in that emotion, as when we recall the circumstances of that scene, and remember that the verses were composed by Milton:—

"Total Eclipse! No Sun, no Moon!
All dark amidst the blaze of noon!
O glorious Light! No cheering ray
To glad my eyes with welcome day;
Why thus deprived thy prime decree?
Sun, Moon, and Stars are dark to me."

That year Smith presided at the organ;[2] but Handel afterwards resumed it up to the close of his life. We find him there, a month after the close of the season, at the Foundling Hospital; for the *General Advertiser* of the 2nd of May, 1753, says—"Yesterday, the sacred oratorio called *Messiah* was performed in the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital, under the direction of the inimitable composer thereof, G. F. Handel, Esq., who, in the organ concerto, played himself a voluntary on the fine organ he gave to the Chapel." He was so familiar with his own works that we cannot refuse to believe that he really conducted it, remembering, also, that the time was beaten by the first violin.

His cotemporaries witnessed a yet more extraordinary thing. John Stanley, who had lost his sight when only two years old, became such an accomplished musician, that he presided upon the organ at the performance of oratorios! It is impossible to doubt this incredible fact. The *Public Advertiser* of the 2nd of March, 1753, announces—"For the Small Pox Hospital, at the King's Theatre, will be performed *Alexander's Feast*, by Mr. Handel, with a concerto on the organ by *Mr. Stanley, who is to conduct the performance.*" Burney, who was an ocular witness, says positively, that after Handel's death, *The Messiah*

[1] *Anecdotes of Handel, &c.*, page 45. [2] *Ibid.*

was performed at the Foundling Hospital "eight times under the conduct of Mr. Smith, and nine under that of Mr. Stanley." This blind man must have committed to memory all the score and all the movements only by hearing them played; and this supposes a memory and musical faculties positively prodigious. It is said that Miss Arlond, his step-sister, played to him upon the harpsichord a score from one end to the other *only once*, and that he afterwards knew it as well as if he had composed it himself. This phenomenon was born in 1713, and died in 1786.

But is it true that Handel, in continuing his laborious life, had only his memory to depend upon? Was he from 1753 to the end of his days entirely and absolutely as blind as Stanley was? Mainwaring[1] and Burney[2] affirm most positively that he was so; but a recent discovery has given rise to a doubt in my mind. The final air of Iphis, in *Jephtha*, "Freely I to Heaven resign all that is in Hamor mine," which is in the original MS., and which appears in the handbooks of 1752, was replaced by a duet, finishing in a quintett, "All that is in Hamor mine freely I to Heaven resign." A copy of this duo-quintett[3] is interpolated at the end of the copy of *Jephtha* in the Smith collection, where the original air, "Freely I to Heaven," is crossed out. When did this substitution take place? The quintett appears for the first time in a handbook of *Jephtha*, dated 1758; and this oratorio was actually performed on the 1st of March, 1758, according to the *Public Advertiser*, "with additions and alterations." It had been given also on the 17th and 21st of March, 1753, and on the 2nd of April, 1756; but the advertisements of these three performances make no mention of "additions and alterations." I am not aware of any handbooks of *Jephtha* dated 1753 or 1756, and therefore can discover nothing from that quarter. But one thing remains: whether the duo-quintett, as near as it is possible to verify the fact, belongs to 1758? In Smith's copy of it there is a note of music corrected with a pencil, which is authentically the

[1] Page 138. [2] *Commemoration*, page 29.

[3] Let it be observed, in passing, that this piece of delicious melody is not an original composition; Mr. Lacy recognizes in it the duet, "T'amo, si," in *Ricardo*, with some modifications.

handwriting of Handel himself. This note has been traced by a trembling hand, and is rather higher than the line upon which the corrector wished to place it; which, whether it belongs to 1756 or to 1758, demonstrates that Handel, at one of these epochs, had recovered his sight to a certain degree, and that, by looking very closely at a thing, it was not absolutely impossible for him to see a little.

The signatures to the codicils of his original will and of the duplicate[1] appear to confirm this conjecture. Those of the 6th of August, 1756, have all the irregularity of a man completely blind; those of the 22nd of March, 1757, are very imperfect, but not so much so as to preclude a belief that his vision was not entirely destroyed; those of the 4th of August are much better still, the letters, although very wide apart from each other, being very well formed and very distinct—only in the duplicate the three names fall one below the other. It follows, therefore, either that, without being able to see perfectly, he saw better than in the month of March, or that he had acquired the habit of signing without being able to see. Those of the 11th of April, 1759, are in the writing of a man entirely blind.

I do not maintain that a single note in pencil, or that even the appearance of the signatures made in March and August, 1757, can immediately upset the assertions of two cotemporary authors; but I thought it my duty to express the doubt which I feel upon the subject, because it is founded upon serious observation, and would acquire importance if any corroborative facts could be discovered. Those who suffer no longer upon the earth still live sympathetically for those who love and admire them, and it would be a consolation to know that there were at least intermissions in Handel's blindness, and that the man who was so great and so charitable, was not totally deprived of the light of the sun during his later days.

It was probably to the period when Handel suffered from the first attacks of the *gutta serena*, that the interesting scene

[1] The original is in the care of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, at Doctors' Commons, London. The duplicate is in the possession of an amateur, Mr. Snoxell, who holds it from the heir of Amyant, Handel's testamentary executor. These documents will presently be given.

which is humourously described in Mr. Ephraim Hardcastle's *Somerset House Gazette*[1] probably belongs. The author relates that he had a good old uncle, Zachary Hardcastle, a retired merchant, who was intimately acquainted with all the most distinguished men of his time, artists, poets, musicians, and physicians. This old gentleman, who lived in Paper Buildings, was accustomed to take his morning walk in the garden of Somerset House, where he happened to meet with another old man, Colley Cibber,[2] and proposed to him to go and hear a competition which was to take place at mid-day for the post of organist to the Temple, and he invited him to breakfast, telling him at the same time that Dr. Pepusch and Dr. Arne were to be with him at nine o'clock. They go in; Pepusch arrives punctually at the stroke of nine; presently there is a knock, the door is opened, and Handel presents himself. Then follows the scene:—

"Handel: 'Vat! mine dear friendt Hardgasdle—Vat! you are merry py dimes. Vat! and Misder Golley Cibbers too! aye, and Togder Peepbush as vell! Vell, dat is gomigal. Vell, mine friendts, andt how vags the vorldt mid you, mine tdears? Bray, bray, do let me sit town a momend.'

"Pepusch took the great man's hat; Colley Cibber took his stick; and my great uncle wheeled round his reading-chair, which was somewhat about the dimensions of that in which our kings and queens are crowned; and then the great man sat him down.

"'Vell, I thank you, gendlemen; now I am at mine ease vonce more. Ubon mine vord, dat is a bicture of a ham. It is very pold of me to gome to preak my fastd mid you uninvided; and I have brought along mid me a nodable abbetite;

[1] Two large volumes in 4to. Nos. 3 and 4 of the 1st vol., 1823.

[2] Colley Cibber was a comedian, dramatic author, and poet laureate in the reign of George II. He was celebrated for the wittiness of his repartees, and his quarrels with Pope. He made his *début* upon the stage in 1689, at the age of eighteen, and began by playing *gratis* for nine months, after which he received ten shillings per week, afterwards fifteen, and afterwards twenty. He quitted the stage in 1731, when his reputation was at its height, and afterwards appeared from time to time at fifty guineas for each performance.—*Life of Colley Cibber*, appended to his dramatic works. He died in 1757 at the age of eighty-six.

for the wader of old Fader Dems (Thames), is it not a fine pracer of the stomach?'

"'You do me great honour, Mister Handel," said my great uncle. 'I take this early visit as a great kindness.'

"'A delightful morning for the water,' said Colley Cibber.

"'Pray, did you come with oars or skullers, Mister Handel?' said Pepusch.

"'Now, how gan you demand of me dat zilly question? you who are a musician and a man of science, Doctor Peepbush. Vat gan it goncern you, whether I have one votdermans or two votdermans—whether I bull out mine burse for to pay one shilling or two. Diavolo! I gannot go here, or I gannot go there, but some one shall send it to some newsbaber, as how Misder Chorge Vrederick Handel did go somedimes last week in a votderman's wherry, to preak his fastd mid Misder Zac Hardgasdle; but it shall be all the fault mid mineself, if it shall be but in print, whether I was rowed by one votdermans or by two votdermans. So, Dr. Peepbush, you will blease to excuse me from dat.'

"Nothing made Handel so peevish in his latter days, as being questioned about trivial matters. He used to say, 'If a man gannot think but as a fool, ledt him keep his fool's tongue in his own fool's moud.' But Handel, for all these little impatient humours, was a kind and good-hearted man.

"Poor Dr. Pepusch was for a moment disconcerted, but it was forgotten in the first dish of coffee.

"'Well, gentlemen,' said my great uncle Zachary, looking at his Tompion, 'it is ten minutes past nine. Shall we wait more for Dr. Arne?'

"'Let us give him another five minutes' chance, Master Hardcastle,' said Colley Cibber; 'he is too great a genius to keep time.'

"'Let us put it to the vote,' said Dr. Pepusch, smiling. 'Who holds up hands?'

"'I will segond your motion mid all mine heardt,' said Handel. 'I will hold up mine feeble hands for mine oldt friend Custos [Arne's name was Augustine], for I know not who I

would awaidt for, over andt above mine oldt rival, Master Dom [Thomas, meaning Pepusch]. Only by your bermission, I will dake a snag of your ham, andt a slice of French roll, or a modicum of chicken; for, to dell you the honest facd, I am all pote famished, for I laid me down on mine billow in bed, the lastd nightd, midout mine supper, at the instance of mine physician; for which I am not altogeddere inglined to extend mine fastd no longer.' Then, laughing, 'Berhaps, Mister Golley Cibbers, you may like to pote this to the vote? But I shall not segond the motion, nor shall I holdt up mine hand, as I will, by bermission, embloy it some dime in a better office. So, if you blease, do me the kindness for to gut me a small slice of ham.'

"At this instant a hasty footstep was heard on the stairs, accompanied by the humming of an air, all as gay as the morning, which was beautiful and bright. It was the month of May.

"'Bresto! be quick,' said Handel; he knew it was Arne; 'fifteen minudes of dime is bretty well for an ad libidum.'

"'Mr. Arne,' said my great uncle's man.

"A chair was placed, and the social party commenced their *déjeûner*.

"'Well, and how do you find yourself, my dear Sir?' inquired Arne, with friendly warmth.

"'Why, by the mercy of Heaven, and the waders of Aix-la-Chapelle, andt the addentions of mine togders andt physicians, andt oggulists,[1] of lade years, under Providence, I am surbrizingly pedder, thank you kindly, Misder Custos. Andt you have been also doing well of lade, as I am bleased to hear. You see, Sir,' pointing to his plate, 'you see, Sir, dat I am in the way for to regruit mine flesh mid the good viands of Misder Zachary Hardgasdle.'

"'So, Sir, I presume you are come to witness the trial of skill at the old Round Church? I understand the amateurs expect a pretty sharp contest,' said Arne.

"'Gondest,' echoed Handel, laying down his knife and fork.

[1] This must have been about 1751 or 1753, as he mentions the oculists. It appears, also, that he had recently visited the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle, which confirms the statement in the *Public Advertiser* of the 21st of August, 1750, relative to the journey which was lately mentioned.

'Yes, no doubt; your amadeurs have a bassion for gondest. Not vot it vos in our remembrance. Hey, mine friendt! Ha, ha, ha!'

"'No, Sir, I am happy to say, those days of envy and bickering, and party feeling, are gone and past. To be sure, we had enough of such disgraceful warfare; it lasted too long.'

"'Why, yes, it tid last too long; it bereft me of mine poor limbs; it tid bereave me of that vot is the most blessed gift of him vot made us, andt not wee ourselves.[1] And for vot? Vy, for noding in the worldt, pode the bleasure andt bastime of them who having no widt, nor no want, set at loggerheads such men as live by their widts, to worry and destroy one andt anodere as wildt beasts in the Golloseum, in the dimes of the Romans.'

"Poor Dr. Pepusch during this conversation, as my great uncle observed, was sitting on thorns; he was in the confederacy professionally only.

"'I hope, Sir,' observed the Doctor, 'you do not include me among those who did injustice to your talents.'

"'Nod at all, nod at all; God forbid! I am a great admirer of the airs of the "Peggar's Obera," andt every professional gendtleman must do his best for to live.'

"This mild return, couched under an apparent compliment, was well received; but Handel, who had a talent for sarcastic drolling, added, 'Pute why blay the Peggar yourself, Togder, andt adapt oldt pallad hum-sdrum, ven, as a man of science, you could gombose original airs of your own? Here is mine friendt Custos Arne, who has made a road for himself, for to drive along his own genius to the demple of fame;' then turning to our illustrious Arne, he continued, 'mine friendt, Custos, you andt I must meed togeder some dimes before it is long, andt hold a tede-a-tede of old days vat is gone; ha, ha! O! it is gomigal now dat id is all gone by. Custos, tdo nod you remember as it vas almost only of yesterday, dat she devil Guzzoni, andt dat other brecious tdaughter of iniquity, Pelzepub's sboiled child, the bretty-faced Faustina?

[1] In allusion, doubtless, to the attack of paralysis, and to the mental alienation of 1737.

O! the mad rage vat I have to answer for, vot with one and the oder of these fine latdies' airs andt graces. Again, do you nod remember dat ubstardt buppy Senesino, and the goxgomb Farinelli? Next, again, mine somedimes nodtable rival, Master Bononcini, andt old Borbora? ha, ha, ha! all at war wid me, andt all at war wid themselves. Such a gonfusion of rivalshibs, andt double-facedness, and hybocrisy, andt malice, vot would make a gomical subject for a boem in rhymes, or a biece for the stage, as I hopes to be saved.'"

This narrative (which in its truthfulness of character resembles an interior photographed from the life) finishes brusquely in this manner. As it is not stated that a short-hand writer was present, one is tempted to regard it as doubtful; but wonderful memories are occasionally to be met with, and the whole scene is adapted so perfectly and so naturally to facts which we know from other sources, that entire faith may be accorded to the story.

From this it appears that about 1750 all disputes had ceased, not without leaving a certain bitterness at the bottom of Handel's heart. It appears also, that at the age of sixty-six or seven he had lost none of that conversational fire for which he was renowned, but that when he felt himself *at his ease and in a good arm-chair*, it was difficult for any one else to find room for a word.

Blindness seemed to paralyze the still powerful author of *Jephtha;* at least, he thenceforth did nothing which occupied a long time. Occasionally his brain emitted a few sparks, like a fire smouldering under its ashes. The duet, "Sion now her head shall raise,"[1] and the chorus, "Tune your harps," were dictated to Smith for *Judas Macchabæus*. Perhaps they belong to 1758, for *Judas* was advertised for the 3rd of March, "with new additions and alterations."[2]

[1] Crosse, copying the *Biographia Dramatica*, puts in the place of this duet the air, "Wise men flattering." He is deceived. "Wise men" was also an additional air; but it is an amplification of an air in *Agrippina*, "Se vuoi pace, o volto amato."

[2] Performances during 1758:—*Jephtha*, *Belshazzar*, and *Israel*, each once; *Judas*, twice; *Triumph of Time*, twice; *The Messiah*, three times. The preceding performances, of which I have not had occasion to give an account, consisted, in 1754, of—*Joshua*, once; *Samson*, once; *The Messiah*, once; *Alexander Bælus*, twice; *Deborah*,

In 1757, at the same time when Mozart came into the world,[1] there appeared at Covent Garden *Triumph of Time and Truth*, "altered from the Italian, with several new additions;"[2] an augmented translation of the oratorio of 1708, *Il Trionfo del Tempo e del disinganno*. One personage was added —Deceit. Hawkins, Burney, and Arnold agree in assigning *Triumph of Time* to 1751. They seem to have thought it impossible that Handel, when he had been four years blind and was seventy-two years old, could still have composed; but the fact is incontestable. The proofs will be stated in the "Catalogue," article *Triumph of Time*, 1757. This oratorio had been sung in Italian during the seasons of 1737 and 1739. Why then the translation of 1757? It may be that the secular language of the opera disturbed the religious scruples of those who were fond of sacred music.

Triumph of Time is not, as it is generally stated to be, a mere version of *Il Trionfo*. The English score has no fewer than seventeen additional pieces, of which nine are entirely new, and were necessarily dictated by the author. The eight others are taken from former works.[3] Moreover, all the recitatives have been changed without any apparent reason, for the English words are a very close translation of the Italian text. To his dying day, Handel was never sparing of his labours. The additions are worthy of him. "False destructive way" is, above all, an air full of warmth.

The failure of his strength determined Handel, in 1757, to make a codicil to his will (which was dated 1750), but did not prevent him from continuing his performances. A handbook of *Triumph of Time and Truth*, dated 1758, is inscribed "with several new additions." He mastered his age and the infirmities which overcome the strongest. At the beginning of

twice; *Saul*, twice; *Judas*, twice. In 1755:—*Alexander's Feast*, with *Choice of Hercules*, twice; *Allegro*, with Dryden's *Ode*, once; *Joseph*, once; *Theodora*, once; *Samson*, once; *Judas* and *The Messiah*, each twice. In 1756:—*Jephtha* and *Deborah*, each once; *Athalia*, three times; *Israel*, *Judas*, and *The Messiah*, each twice.

[1] That prodigious genius was born on the 27th of January, 1756.

[2] Performances in 1757:—*Triumph of Time*, four times; *Esther* and *The Messiah*, twice each; *Israel*, *Joseph*, and *Judas*, each once.

[3] See "Catalogue."

1759, his health declined more and more; he lost his immense appetite. Mainwaring says:—"He was very sensible of the approach of death, and refused to be flattered by any hopes of a recovery." But even then he did not suspend his activity: to the death this valiant athlete would not succumb. The *Public Advertiser* of the 24th of February, 1759, announced the opening of the oratorio season for the 2nd of March, by "*Solomon*, with new additions and alterations." Afterwards, on the 9th, "*Susannah*, with new additions and alterations; on the 14th, 16th, and 21st, *Samson;* on the 23rd and 28th, *Judas Macchabæus;* on the 30th of March, and on the 4th and 6th of April, *The Messiah*." The *Public Advertiser* of the 5th of April, 1759, announced—"At the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, to-morrow, Friday, the 6th of April, will be presented a sacred oratorio called *The Messiah*, being the last time of performing IT this season. To begin a half an hour after six." This advertisement, which was repeated on the 6th—"This evening, *The Messiah*"—corrects all that has been said upon the subject. It was indeed on the 6th of April, at Covent Garden, and not at the Foundling Hospital, that the masterpiece was performed for the last time under the direction of the author.

After returning home from this performance he went to bed never to rise again. Seized with a mortal exhaustion, and feeling that his last hour was come, in the full plenitude of his reason, he added one more codicil to his will, and gently rendered up his soul on the anniversary of the first performance of *The Messiah*, Good Friday, the 13th of April, 1759, aged seventy-four years one month and twenty-one days.

This man, whose music and whose name filled all England, seems to have disappeared almost without the fact being noticed. On the 7th of April, the *Public Advertiser* announced *The Messiah*, at the Foundling Hospital, for "the 3rd of May, at twelve o'clock, under the direction of G. F. Handel, Esq." On Thursday, the 12th, the same journal inserted the following paragraph, without making any allusion to his illness:—"From the trustees of the Westminster Hospital—Earl of Lincoln,

president. The anniversary sermon at St. Margaret's Church, and dinner at the George Tavern, on Thursday, 26th April, Mr. Handell's new *Te Deum*, the grand chorus, 'For the Lord God,' from *The Messiah*, and the *Coronation Anthem*, 'God save the King,' will be performed, under the direction of Dr. Boyce. The public rehearsal to be at the church on Monday, 23rd, at ten o'clock." On the following day, Friday, the 13th of April, there was another announcement of *The Messiah*, "under the direction of the author," at the Foundling Hospital, on the 3rd of May, and, side by side, this simple line, "Yesterday morning, died G. F. Handel, Esq."

The fatal news was anticipated by a day; for, on Monday the 16th, the *Public Advertiser* said:—"Last Saturday, and not before, died at his house in Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, that eminent master of music, George Frederick Handel, Esq." The *London Chronicle, or Universal Evening Post*, for the 14th to the 17th of April, says the same thing, "Saturday last, and not before." This was still inexact. "He expired," says Burney,[1] "on *Friday, the 13th*, 1759, and *not on Saturday, the 14th*, as was at first erroneously engraved on his monument. I have indisputable authority for the contrary; as Dr. Warren, who attended Handel in his last sickness, remembers his dying before midnight, on the 13th, Good Friday."

Thus it may be said that he died obscurely, in the midst of all his glory and all his charity. At the very time when he drew his last breath, the journals varied from the 12th to the 14th in recording that event; but on the 12th, the 13th, and the 14th, his works were employed, for the thousandth time, as the surest means of increasing the funds of the hospitals.

On the 19th of April the administrators of the Foundling Hospital repeated their advertisement for the 3rd of May, without adding a single word of regret, and merely substituting, "under the direction of Mr. Smith," for "under the direction of G. F. Handel, Esq." A worthy and notable example of human gratitude! Subsequently, however, they recollected that he had been one of the most generous benefactors of

[1] *Commemoration*, page 31.

the establishment, and mustered up sufficient grief for the occasion to give an entertainment of sacred music, "in grateful memory of G. F. Handel, Esq.," and retailed their grief at half a guinea the ticket. "From the Foundling Hospital:—In GRATEFUL MEMORY of George Frederick Handel, Esq., on Thursday, the 24th day of May, at the chapel of the Hospital, under the direction of Mr. John Christopher Smith, will be a performance of SACRED MUSIC, which will begin exactly at 12 o'clock at noon. Tickets, half a guinea each. Mr. Stanley will, on this occasion, perform a concerto on the organ. Gentlemen are desired to come without swords, and ladies without hoops. Books may be had at the Hospital, price sixpence."[1]

By what species of men were the journals of those days edited? All that can be found upon the death of the great musician, is a pitiful anonymous acrostic, inserted in the *Public Advertiser* of the 17th of May:—

"**H**e 's gone; the soul of harmony is fled!
And warbling angels hover round him dead.
Never,—no, never, since the tide of time,
Did music know a genius so sublime!
Each mighty harmonist that's gone before
Lessen'd to mites, when we his works explore."

When the people of Halle heard, on the 2nd of May, that he was no more, they ordered public prayers to be offered up in the Lutheran Church of St. Laurent, where he was baptized.

After a life constantly agitated and cruelly tormented, it may be said that Handel died happy. It is true that all his former enemies had not repented; for some, whose hatred was implacable, had given signs of activity in April, 1753. He was seventy years old and blind, when some one inserted in the journals a paragraph to the effect that a funeral anthem to his memory was being prepared in the chapel of the Foundling Hospital. Mrs. Brownlow says:—"The Governors of the Hospital felt, naturally enough, a deep affection and veneration for Handel, and therefore when, in April, 1753, a foolish paragraph appeared in the daily papers, stating that he was preparing a funeral anthem to be performed in the chapel of the Hospital after his death, the

[1] *Public Advertiser*, 22nd of May, 1759.

Committee desired their secretary to acquaint him, 'that the said paragraph has given this Committee great concern, they being highly sensible that all well-wishers to this charity must be desirous for the continuance of his life, who has been and is so great and generous a benefactor thereto.'" Fortunately, the mind of the august old man was too solidly constituted to be uncomfortably impressed by this anticipatory notice of his death. But this was a Parthian shot. In fact, for the last ten years all hostility against him had been stilled; men's minds were enlightened; and the nobility (let it be in justice to them admitted) had the courage and the good taste to confess themselves vanquished by his genius. It was with the applause of the whole town, that Garrick, in February, 1755, recited this prologue to *The Fairies*, by Smith:—

"Struck with the wonders of his master's art,
Those sacred dramas shake and melt the heart,
Whose heaven-born strains the coldest breast inspire,
Whose chorus-thunder sets the soul on fire!
Inflam'd, astonish'd at those magic airs,
When Samson groans, and frantic Saul despairs,
The pupil wrote—his work is now before ye,
And waits your stamp of infamy or glory.
Yet, ere his errors and his faults are known,
He says those faults, those errors are his own;
If through the cloud appear some glimmering rays,
They 're sparks he caught from his great master's blaze." [1]

The public became more and more attracted to the performances of the great master. *Samson*, *Judas*, and *The Messiah* never failed to draw a compact crowd; and, after paying all his debts, to his great joy, he left behind him a fortune of £20,000. He was insolvent in 1746, a position from which he only recovered between 1749 and 1750, when enmities and indifference had been completely set at rest. The seasons from 1750 to 1759 must therefore have been very profitable, to have enabled him to amass £20,000, especially when he only gave ten or eleven performances each year. Burney says that the last of these "was remarkably successful. One of my friends, who was generally at the performance of each oratorio that year, and who used to visit him after it was over, in the treasurer of the theatre's

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1755.

office, says, that the money he used to take to his carriage of a night, though in gold and silver, was as likely to weigh him down and throw into a fever, as the copper money of the painter Correggio, if he had as far to carry it."[1]

His genius was now recognized, and was universally submitted to: it seemed as if there were no other music in the world besides his. Read a few extracts from the *General Advertiser* of 1751:—April 18th and 16th of May—"*The Messiah*, for the benefit of the Foundling Hospital." The receipts of this performance amounted, as we have seen,[2] to thirteen hundred guineas. April 30th and May 3rd—"For the Sons of the Clergy, the *Dettingen Te Deum*, the *Utrecht Jubilate*, and the *Coronation Anthem*" (receipts £1000). September 27th—"Last week, the three choirs of Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester held their annual meeting at Gloucester. On Wednesday, were performed the *Coronation Anthem*, by Mr. Handel, and Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, and an anthem by Dr. Boyce; and on Thursday, the *Te Deum* and an anthem composed by Mr. Handel were performed in the Cathedral. An oratorio of Mr. Handel's was performed in the Boott Hall each evening. On Wednesday *Alexander's Feast*, and on Thursday Milton's *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso*." Thursday, 3rd of October—"The anniversary festival of music was celebrated at Salisbury on the 26th and 27th of September. The performance in the church on the first day consisted of Mr. Handel's *Te Deum*, composed for Duke Chandos, and two of his celebrated *Coronation Anthems*. On the second day his *Te Deum*, composed for his present Majesty, together with the remaining two *Coronation Anthems*. At the Assembly Room, on the first evening, was performed *Alexander's Feast;* on the second, the oratorio of *Samson:* both set to music by the same great composer."

There was not a concert, moreover, in which the overture to *Samson* did not appear. It seems to have become the favourite piece of the year. Nor was there an appeal to charity during that period which did not rely upon Handel's name, the better to attract an audience. Of this I have already furnished many

[1] *Commemoration*, page 28. [2] Pages 269, 270.

examples. I have a handbook of *Samson* for the 2nd of December, 1756—"For the benefit of the City of London Lying-in Hospital in Aldersgate Street, at Haberdasher's Hall, in Maiden Lane."

No other man has ever exercised a greater supremacy in his sphere of action than Handel did.

The reader will find, in the Appendices to the "Catalogue of Works" (chapter on the *Publications of Handel's Works*), an account of the numerous collections which Walsh and others have extracted from them. All these confections of his music, under a thousand different forms—all these selections, in from one to seven volumes of airs, arranged for the harpsichord and for the flute, for quartetts and for septetts—all these minuets converted into songs—all these Italian cavatinas transformed into English prayers, bear witness to the immense popularity which he enjoyed. He was king of his art. If additional proof be required, read the advertisements in the *Public Advertiser* during 1759, the very year of his death:—On the 4th of May: "for Giardini's Concerto Spirituale—Overture of *Saul*, *Funeral Anthem*, etc." On the 10th of May: "for the Sons of the Clergy, at St. Paul's—Overture of *Esther*, Mr. Handel's new *Te Deum*, and *Jubilate*. The grand chorus from *The Messiah* will be vocally and instrumentally performed. To conclude with Mr. Handel's *Coronation Anthem*." On the 13th of June: "for Mr. Beard's benefit, at Ranelagh House, *Allegro and Penseroso*." On the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of July, at the Commemoration, or Public Act, at Oxford: *Samson*, *Esther*, and *The Messiah*. On the 13th of August: "for Mr. Beard, at Hampstead, *Acis and Galatea*." On the 12th of November: "for the Half-Moon Subscription Concerts in Cheapside, *Alexander's Feast*." On the 15th November: "for the St. Cecilia Society,[1] *Samson*."

The movement which he had given to the minds of men lasted for a long time after him. Smith, who was the legatee of his MSS. and music-books, continued, in connection with John Stanley, to produce his oratorios, and when he retired from that association, at the end of fourteen years, Stanley

[1] The St. Cecilia Society is still in existence. It only performs oratorios.

persevered in the lucrative enterprise with Linley, the father of the two celebrated songstresses of that name, one of whom married Sheridan.[1] The gleaners who came after the harvest also gained money by making new oratorios out of his music. His name became a talisman. *Israel in Babylon*—"oratorio performed at Covent Garden, the music selected from the works composed by Mr. Handel"—was produced in 1764; according to a handbook, "printed for the author," and the author (according to Burney) was a person named Toms, of whom no mention seems to be made in any biographical work. In 1769, Smith produced "*Gideon*, words by Dr. Morell, the music compiled partly from Handel." The handbook of this *Gideon*, not so honest as the score, audaciously asserted "the music composed by G. F. Handel, Esq." In 1766 was performed at the Haymarket, with great success, an oratorio called *Omnipotence*, divided into three parts—Creation, Redemption, and Salvation. Under the cover of the handbook, which is inscribed "set to music by Mr. Handel," the anonymous compilers, Arnold and Toms,[2] say that this oratorio is taken from the works of Handel, particularly from the *Chandos Anthems*, "which are difficult to obtain." The preface concludes with—"This attempt to retrieve from obscurity, works which ought long since to have been produced by those who had the means and power of doing it, is most respectfully submitted to the candour of the public."

Redemption, which was produced in 1786, under the name of Handel, is also an arrangement by Arnold. Messrs. D'Almaine and Co. have wrongfully engraved the airs of this pasticcio, as if it were really by the master; Sir H. Bishop, in the collection of songs, duets, and trios by Handel, published by them, also includes some things from *Redemption*. In a catalogue issued by Messrs. Purday, there is an air from *Gideon*, "by Handel." Publishers ought to be more scrupulous than to lead the public into

[1] There are handbooks of *Semele* dated 1762; of *Deborah*, 1764 and 1775; of *Israel*, 1765 and 1777; of *Alexander Bœlus*, 1768; of *Judas Macchabæus*, 1762, 63, 64, and 68; of *Joseph*, 1768; of *Messiah*, 1768; of *Jephtha*, 1772.

[2] Burney.

error by such equivocations. *Redemption* and *Gideon* are made out of Handel's music, but they are not really by him. These gentlemen may urge that the handbooks of the Ancient Music Society also contain airs from these oratorios, marked "by Handel;" but it does not excuse them to justify evil by evil.

Some did not confine themselves to these compilations. The public had conceived a taste for this kind of thing, and every one wished to try the experiment. Smith made four oratorios, Green three, Arne two, Arnold four, &c. None of these have survived: yet the oratorio has remained in England as a composition which may be called indigenous. New ones are constantly being attempted, but it seems as if they only magnify the name of the giant of music. Every one else suffers shipwreck upon that rock whereon he so often stood like a conqueror. Mendelssohn's *Elijah* and *St. Paul* only have gained an assumed place; and although I do not understand the admiration which that hollow music has excited, it is my duty to record it as a fact. As for mere modern attempts, Mr. Costa's *Eli* and Mr. Leslie's *Emmanuel* are, in my opinion, the only works which deserve mention. *Emmanuel*, in particular, gives promise of a master.

CHAPTER XI.

HANDEL'S WILL—INVENTORY OF HIS HOUSEHOLD GOODS—PROOF OF HIS HONESTY—HIS FUNERAL—HIS MONUMENT AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY—COMMEMORATION OF 1784—HANDEL'S MANUSCRIPTS—HIS HARPSICHORD—PORTRAITS OF HIM.

WE desire to know everything about a great man. We wish to have him living before us. It is this which causes the universal and magical interest excited by memoirs, and it is for the purpose of gratifying this appetite that I subjoin Handel's Will, from an authentic copy made at Doctors' Commons, where the will is deposited.

Extract from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

"In the name of God, Amen. I, George Frideric Handel, considering the uncertainty of human life, do make this my Will in manner following, viz.: I give and bequeath unto my servant, Peter le Blond, my clothes and linen and three hundred pounds sterling; and to my other servants a year's wages. I give and bequeath to Mr. Christopher Smith my large *harpsicord*, my little house-organ, my music-books, and five hundred pounds sterling. Item. I give and bequeath to Mr. James Hunter five hundred pounds sterling. I give and bequeath to my cousin, Christian Gottlieb Handel, of Coppenhagen, one hundred pounds sterling. Item. I give and bequeath to my cousin, Magister Christian August Roth, of Halle, in Saxony, one hundred pounds sterling. Item. I give and bequeath to my cousin, the widow of George Taust,[1] pastor of Giebichenstein, near Halle, in Saxony, three hundred pounds sterling, and to her six children each two

[1] Handel's mother, Dorothea Taust, was the daughter of George Taust, pastor of Giebichenstein. She died blind, on the 24th of February, 1730, aged eighty years. Handel had a sister named Dorothea Sophie, who married W. Streit. This branch of the family, doubtless, became extinct, since the name of Streit is not to be found either in the will or in any of the codicils.

hundred pounds sterling, all the next and residue of my estate in Bank Annuities, 1746, sft. sub. or whatsoever kind or nature. I give and bequeath unto my dear niece, Johanna Frederica Floerchen, of Gotha, in Saxony, born Michaelsen, in Halle, in whom I make my sole executor of this my last will. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, this first day of June, 1750.

"GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL."

"I, George Frideric Handel, make this codicil to my will. I give unto my servant, Peter le Blond, two hundred pounds additional to the legacy already given him in my will. I give to Mr. Christopher Smith fifteen hundred pounds additional to the legacy already given him in my will. I give to my cousin, Christian Gottlieb Handel, of Coppenhagen, two hundred pounds additional to the legacy already given him in my will. My cousin, Magister Christian August Roth, being dead, I give to his widow two hundred pounds, and if she shall die before me, I give the said two hundred pounds to her children. The widow of George Taust and one of her children being dead, I give to her five remaining children three hundred pounds apiece, instead of the legacy given to them by my will. I give to Doctor Morell, of Turnham Green, two hundred pounds. I give to Mr. Newburgh Hamilton, of Old Bond Street, who has assisted me in adjusting words for some of my compositions, one hundred pounds. I make George Amyant, Esquire, of Lawrence Pountney Hill, London, merchant, co-executor with my niece, mentioned in my will, and give him two hundred pounds, which I desire him to accept for the care and trouble he shall take in my affairs. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this sixth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six.

"GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL.

"On the day and year above written, this codicil was read over to the said George Frideric Handel, and was by him signed and published in our presence.

"THO. HARRIS.

"JOHN HETHERINGTON."

"I, George Frideric Handel, do make this further codicil to my will. My old servant, Peter le Blond, being lately dead, I give to his nephew, John Duburk, the sum of five hundred pounds. I give to my servant, Thomas Bramwell, the sum of thirty pounds, in case he shall be living with me at the time of my death, and not otherways. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, the twenty-second day of March, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven.

"George Frideric Handel.

"On the day and year above written, this codicil was read over to the said George Frideric Handel, and was by him signed and published in our presence.

"Tho. Harris.

"John Hetherington."

"I, George Frideric Handel, do make this further codicil to my will. My cousin, Christian Gottlieb Handel, being dead, I give to his sister, Christiana Susanna Handelin, at Goslar, three hundred pounds; and to his sister, living at Pless, near Teschen, in Silesia, three hundred pounds. I give to John Rich, Esquire, my great organ that stands at the Theatre Royal, in Covent Garden.[1] I give to Charles Jennens, Esquire, two pictures, the old man's head and the old woman's head, done by Denner.[2] I give to — Granville, Esquire, of Holles Street, the landskip, a view of the Rhine, done by Rembrandt, and another, by the same hand, which he made me a present of some time ago. I give a fair copy of the score and all the parts of my Oratorio called the Messiah[3] to the Foundling Hospital. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, this fourth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven.

"George Frideric Handel.

"On the day and year above written, this codicil was read

[1] Burnt in the destruction of the theatre by fire, on the 20th of September, 1808.

[2] These two pictures are still at Gopsall.

[3] This copy is preserved in the archives of the Hospital.

over to the said George Frideric Handel, and was by him signed and published in our presence.

"Tho. Harris.
"John Maxwell."

"I, George Frideric Handel, make this further codicil. I give to the Governors or Trustees of the Society for the Support of Decayed Musicians and their Families one thousand pounds, to be disposed of in the most beneficial manner for the objects of that charity; I give to George Amyand, Esquire, one of my executors, two hundred pounds additional to what I have before given him; I give to Thomas Harris, Esquire, of Lincoln's Inn Fields, three hundred pounds; I give to Mr. John Hetherington, of the First Fruits Office, in the Middle Temple, one hundred pounds; I give to Mr. James Smyth, of Bond Street, perfumer, five hundred pounds; I give to Mr. Mathew Dubourg, musician, one hundred pounds; I give to my servant, Thomas Bremwell, seventy pounds additional to what I have before given him; I give to Benjamin Martyn, Esquire, of New Bond Street, fifty guineas; I give to Mr. John Belchar, of Sun Court, Threadneedle Street, surgeon, fifty guineas; I give all my wearing apparel to my servant, John de Bourk; I give to Mr. John Cowland, of New Bond Street, apothecary, fifty pounds. I hope I have the permission of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster to be buried in Westminster Abbey, in a private manner, at the discretion of my executor, Mr. Amyand; and I desire that my said executor may have leave to erect a monument for me there, and that any sum, not exceeding six hundred pounds, be expended for that purpose, at the discretion of my said executor. I give to Mrs. Palmer, of Chelsea, widow of Mr. Palmer, of Chelsea, formerly of Chappel Street, one hundred pounds; I give to my maid-servants each one year's wages over and above what shall be due to them at the time of my death; I give to Mrs. Mayne, of Kensington, widow, sister of the late Mr. Batt, fifty guineas; I give to Mrs. Downalan, of Charles Street, Berkeley Square, fifty guineas; I give to Mr. Reiche, Secretary for the affairs of Hanover, two hundred pounds. In witness

whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this eleventh day of April, 1759.

"G. F. Handel.

"This codicil was read over to the said George Frideric Handel, and by him signed and sealed, in the presence, on the day and year above written, of us,

"A. S. Rudd.
"J. Christopher Smith."

The will is written in English from one end to the other, and is entirely in Handel's handwriting. It is easy to see that he took great pains about making the duplicate, which is now in the possession of Mr. Snoxell.[1] To the codicils, which have all been dictated, the testator only affixed his signature. The seal of the fourth bears the impress of a bearded head, sufficiently like that of Shakspere to give a colour for the belief that Handel sealed with the image of the greatest of poets, even when England called him "Mr. William Shakespeare."

Mr. Snoxell also possesses, from the same source as he does the duplicate of the will, the inventory of Handel's household goods, drawn up on the 27th of August, 1759. Even taking into account the articles which had been removed in consequence of legacies, and that he had been blind for the last six years of his life, it is remarkable with what simplicity the great man lived. All his furniture, sold to his servant, John Dubourk, was only valued at £18 sterling. If the reader should feel any curiosity to know of what it was composed, he will find the inventory in the note.[2]

[1] See note at the foot of page 325.

[2] From the original in the possession of Mr. Wm. Snoxell, who has kindly permitted me to publish it :—

"An Inventory of the Household Goods of George Frederick Handel, Esq., deceased, taken at his late Dwelling-house in Great Brook Street, St. George's, Hanover Square; and, by Order of the Executor, sold to Mr. Jno. Du Bourk, this twenty-seventh of August, 1759, by the Appraisement of us whose names are underwritten.

"*In the Garretts.*—4 old chairs, 3 old trunks, a wainscot oval table, a bedstead, with lineing furniture, a feather bed, bolster, and 1 pillow, 3 blanketts, and a quilt, an old sadle, a window curtain, and an old grate, 2 pair stairs carpet, 2 old globes, and frames, and chimney-board.

"2 *Pair Stair forward.*—A bedstead, with whole teaster, crimson haritten furni-

It will be perceived from his will that Handel did not forget his family, although he had been absent from his native country forty-seven years; but from the multiplicity of his subse-

ture, a feather bed, bolster, and 2 pillows, a white mattress, 3 blankets, and a quilt, 3 pair of bed window curtains and rods, a stove, tongues and poker, 6 old matted chairs, a round close stool and white pann, a wicker fire-screen, a glass in wall^{d} frame.

"2 *Pair Stairs backwards.*—An old bedstead, with red half teaster furniture, a feather bed, a bolster, 2 blanketts, and an old quilt, an oval wainscott table, and 3 old chairs.

"*Dineing Room.*—An iron hearth with dogs, brass-mounted tongs and shovell, 2 wall^{d} round card tables, 7 wall^{d} matted chairs, and leather stool, 2 sconces in gilt frames, a chimney glass in ditto, and broke.

"*In the* 1 *Pair of Stairs backwards.*—A stove complete, bellows and brush, 4 matted chairs, a wall^{d} card table, a pair of old green silk window curtains, and a window seat, a chimney glass in a gilt frame, and a pier glass in ditto.

"*In the Closet.*—A lincey cistern, an old stove, and a small cupboard.

"*On the Stairs and in y^{e} Passage.*—An eight-day clock in a wall^{d} frame, and a square lanthorn.

"*In the Fore Parlour.*—A square stove, poker, shovel, fender, bellows, and brush, a wainscott oval table, a square block table, 6 old matted chairs, a sconce in a gilt frame, a chimney glass in ditto, and old wall^{d} desk, 5 coulr'd china coffee cups and 6 saucers, a blue and white spoon-boat.

"*In the Back Parlour.*—An easy chair and cushion, an old stove complete, a wall^{d} writing-desk, a dressing swing-glass in a black frame, an old bason-stand, a wicker fire-screen, a deal chest and brackets, and a square deal box, a large linnen press, a small deal bookcase, 2 wig-blocks fixt.

"*In the Clossett.*—A large nest of drawers and a window-curtain.

"*In the Kitchen.*—A large rainge with cheeks, keeper, and iron back, a crain and pott hooks, a fender, shovel, tongs, and poker, and bellows, a salamander, a chaffing-dish, 2 hanging irons, 3 flat irons, a jack complete and lead weights, 2 standing spit-racks and 3 spitts, a gridiron and 2 truvtts, a flesh fork and iron scure, an iron plate-warmer, 8 brass candlesticks, 2 coffee-pots, a drudger and 2 pepper-boxes, a slice, a ladle, a copper grater, a warming-pann and iron stand, a boyling-pot and cover, a dish-kittle, a fish-kittle complete, 2 stew-panns and covers, 2 frying-panns, 5 sausepanns and 3 covers, a copper water candlestick, 12 pewter dishes and 26 plates, a tea-kittle, a coffee-mill, 2 wainscot tables, 5 old chairs, an arm easy chair, a plate-rack, a chopping-board, a spice drawer, a pewter shaving basson, about 30 pair of earthen and stoneware, and a towel-rowl, a box with 12 knives and 12 forks, 4 glass salts and mustard glass, 2 coal-boxes, a meat-screen and a clever, a pair of steps, &c.

"*In the Back Kitchen.*—An old stove and shovell, a copper fixed and iron work, 2 formes and 5 washing-tubbs, a cloaths-horse and a horse to dust cloaths on, 2 old chairs and a wig-block, a bedstead and curtains, a feather bed, bolster, and 1 pillow, 1 blanket and a rugg, an old chair.

"*In the Area and Vault.*—A large lead cistern and brass cock, and beer stylion.

"All the before written goods, &c., is appraised and valued to the sum of forty-ght pounds, the day and year before mentioned.

"£48 0 0 "By us {JAMES GORDON, WILLIAM ASHERD.

"This inventory of household goods, appraised at £48, sold to John de Bourke."

quent donations, it is to be supposed that he had not then any great affection for his niece, J. Michaelsen, whom he had constituted his residuary legatee in 1750.

The last codicil, although made *in articulo mortis*, bears the traces of an astonishing memory. The only point which gives any sign of an enfeebled intelligence is the demand for a monument in Westminster Abbey, with the expense of which he charges his estate. Another fact, which is recorded in the *Anecdotes of Handel*,[1] shows that at the end of his life he was strangely preoccupied with his future glory, but serves at the same time as a new proof of his admirable honesty. He had promised Smith to leave him all his manuscripts, but thinking, after reflection, that their preservation would be more certain in a public library, he resolved to deposit them in the University of Oxford. Upon this, he offered Smith three thousand pounds if he would renounce the moral claim which his promise had given him. But Smith could not be persuaded to do so, and when the will was opened, it was found that the manuscripts belonged to Smith. The dying man had sacrificed to the duty of keeping his word that which he regarded as a means of securing his renown. What strength of mind! What virtue in an artist of seventy-four years! Even under the weaknesses of age he remained great. We must admire this all the more when, examining our own hearts, we consider the fascinating power of the miserable suggestions of vanity; when, looking around us, we see the follies, the meannesses, and the crimes which these suggestions lead men to commit.

Handel, in his old man's vanity, was too modest. He might have left to others the care of providing for his last resting-place. He had done so much for the Foundling Hospital that it was suggested he should be interred in the cemetery of that Institution, beside the founder, Captain Coram. The *London Chronicle* of the 14th of April, 1759, says:—"By the death of Mr. Handel, a considerable pension reverts to the Crown. We hear he will be buried at the burial-ground at the Foundling Hospital, near Captain Coram." But

[1] Page 40.

the proper place for his ashes was at Westminster Abbey, the Pantheon of Great Britain. The English nation bore them there with an unanimous voice. Immediately after he ceased to live, the grumblings of old cabals, already almost extinguished, were at an end. England understood what she had lost. "On Friday night, about eight o'clock," says the *Universal Chronicle* of the 24th of April, 1759, "the remains of the late Mr. Handel were deposited at the foot of the Duke of Argyle's monument in Westminster Abbey; and though he mentioned being privately interred, yet, from the respect due to so celebrated a man, the Bishop, Prebends, and the whole Choir attended to pay the last honours due to his memory. There was a vast concourse of people of all ranks."

The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1759 says:—"It is computed that there were not fewer than 3000 persons present on this occasion." Dr. Zachary Pearce, Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, preached the funeral sermon.[1] His remains were placed in what is called "the Poet's Corner," in which are assembled the immortals: Shakspere, Milton, Dryden, Spenser, Ben Jonson, Thomson, Gray, Garrick, and Sheridan. And he was in his place there; for who was ever more of a poet than Handel? Who deserved better than he to enter the Pantheon? They might have written upon his tomb the words which Antony spoke when he beheld the body of Cæsar: "*This* was a man!"

His monument was inaugurated on the 10th of July, 1762.[2] It is by Roubiliac, and represents him standing in a noble attitude, leaning towards a table covered with musical instruments and a MS. of *The Messiah;* the face is slightly upturned heavenward. Beneath his hand, which holds a pen, is a leaf of *The Messiah,* whereon is written, "*I know that my Redeemer liveth;*" an angel, seated on a cloud, playing upon a harp, above his head, seems to dictate to him. An organ occupies the entire background of this remarkable composition,

[1] *Anecdotes of Handel, &c.*, page 26.

[2] *Annual Register*, and *London Chronicle, or Universal Evening Post,* of the 13th to the 15th July, 1762.

which can only be reproached with the fault common to the age, that of being too theatrical. The inscription beneath is—

GEORGE FREDERICK HANDEL, Esq.,
Born February XXIII., MDCLXXXIV.
Died on Good Friday, April XIII., MDCCLIX.
L. F. Roubiliac, Sc.[1]

The *Annual Register* and *London Chronicle* state that the inscription originally stood "Died April 14." Since they changed the day of his death, in order to be correct, they ought now to change the year of his birth. It has already been shown that Handel was born in 1685, and not in 1684. Nor did he call himself "Frederick;" during the whole of his life he signed his name "Frideric."

Above the monument is the following inscription, cut upon a large stone slab:—

Within these Sacred Walls the
Memory of HANDEL
was celebrated,
under the Patronage,
and in the presence of
His Most Gracious Majesty
George the III.,
On the XXVI. and XXIX. of May,
and on the III. and V. of June,
MDCCLXXXIV.

The Musick performed
on this Solemnity
was selected from his own Works,
under the direction of
BROWNLOW, Earl of Exeter;
JOHN, Earl of Sandwich;
HENRY, Earl of Uxbridge;
Sir WATKIN WILLMS WYNN, Bart.,
and
Sir RICHARD JEBB, Bart.

The Band, consisting of
525 Vocal and Instrumental Performers,
was conducted by
JOAH BATES, Esq.[2]

Five days occupied with five performances (four during the morning at the Abbey, and one in the evening, at a hall called the Pantheon), consisting entirely of the music of one man! Beethoven and Mozart are the only composers beside him who could supply such a programme. It was at first intended that only three performances should be given, but the enthusiasm was so great, and the demands for tickets so numerous, that it

[1] Roubiliac, who was born at Lyons, died at London, in 1762. By an extraordinary coincidence, this monument was his last important work, as the statue at Vauxhall had been his first.

[2] Joah Bates, one of the Commissioners of the Victualling Office, was a scientific amateur.

was determined upon to repeat the two morning performances at the Abbey.[1]

This commemorative festival had been fixed for 1784, because on that year a century was supposed to have elapsed since the day of Handel's birth, and a quarter of a century since the day of his death. It was truly a national solemnity. George the Third attended it in state, and presided over each performance,

[1] As some readers may feel interested in the programme of these performances, I subjoin it:—

First performance, at the Abbey, on Wednesday, the 26th of May, 1784:—

PART 1st.—"Zadok the priest," from the *Coronation Anthems;* overture, *Esther;* *Dettingen Te Deum.*

PART 2nd.—Overture and Dead March in *Saul;* "When the ear heard him," from the *Funeral Anthem;* "He delivered the poor," from the *Funeral Anthem;* "His body is buried in peace," from the *Funeral Anthem;* "Gloria Patri," from the *Jubilate.*

PART 3rd.—*Ninth Chandos Anthem;* "The Lord shall reign," chorus from *Israel in Egypt;* "Sing ye to the Lord," chorus from *Israel in Egypt.*

Second performance, at the Pantheon, on Thursday evening, 27th of May:—

PART 1st.—*Second Hautbois Concerto;* "Sorge infausta," air in *Orlando;* "Ye sons of Israel," chorus from *Joshua;* "Rende il sereno," air in *Sosarme;* "Caro vieni," in *Richard;* "He smote all the first-born," chorus from *Israel in Egypt;* "Va tacito e nascosto," air in *Julius Cæsar. Sixth Grand Concerto;* "M'allontano sdegnose pupille," air in *Atalanta;* "He gave them hailstones," chorus from *Israel in Egypt.*

PART 2nd.—*Fifth Grand Concerto;* "Dite che fà," air in *Ptolemy;* "Vi fida lo sposo," in *Ætius;* "Fallen is the foe," chorus in *Judas Macchabæus;* overture of *Ariadne;* "Alma del gran Pompeo," recitative in *Julius Cæsar;* "Affanni del pensier," air in *Otho;* "Nasce al bosco," in *Ætius;* "Io t'abbraccio," duet in *Rodelinda; Eleventh Grand Concerto;* "Ah! mio cor!" air in *Alcina;* "My heart is inditing," from the *Coronation Anthems.*

Third performance at the Abbey, Saturday, May 29:—*The Messiah.*

Fourth performance at the Abbey, June 3:—

PART 1st.—Overture, *Esther; Dettingen Te Deum.*

PART 2nd.—Overture of *Tamerlane;* Dead March in *Saul;* "When the ear heard her," from the *Funeral Anthem;* "She delivered the poor," from the *Funeral Anthem;* "Her body is buried," from the *Funeral Anthem;* "Gloria Patri," from the *Jubilate.*

PART 3rd.—"Jehovah crowned with glory," air and chorus in *Esther; First Grand Concerto;* "Gird on thy sword," chorus in *Saul; Fourth Hautbois Concerto;* anthem, "O sing unto the Lord;" "The Lord shall reign," chorus from *Israel in Egypt;* "Zadok the priest," from *Coronation Anthems.*

Fifth performance, at the Abbey, June 5:—*The Messiah.*

At the great Festival at York, in 1825, they gave, in addition to the whole of *The Messiah,* extracts from the *Coronation Anthem,* the *Dettingen Te Deum,* the *Chandos Anthems,* and *Dryden's Ode, Esther, Athalia, Joshua, Judas Macchabæus, Jephtha, Solomon, Theodora, Saul, Belshazzar, Israel in Egypt, Samson,* and *Acis.*

wearing on his arm, in order to do more honour to the memory of the illustrious dead, the scarf and medal of a steward. The receipts amounted to the enormous sum of £12,736 sterling; part of which was divided as follows:—

The Society of Decayed Musicians	£6000
Westminster Hospital[1]	1000
Construction of scaffolding in the Abbey .	1969
Orchestra	1976

and the rest in petty expenses.

Burney has given a very interesting account of the Commemoration of 1784. He has embellished it with a fair engraving of Roubiliac's sculpture, a representation of the orchestra as it appeared in the Abbey, a view of the tribune upon which the royal family and privileged persons were placed, and an engraving of the stewards' medal, representing on one side the head of the great musician, with this legend in exergue, "Comm. of Handel, MDCCLXXXIV.," and on the reverse, "Sub. Ausp. G. III." (under the auspices of George III.) At the end of the last century it was customary to have ornamental concert-tickets, and Burney has given copies of those which were used at the Commemoration. They are rather pretty engravings by Bartolozzi, after Cipriani.[2]

The first is an ancient sarcophagus, with a medallion of the master upon it. The performance, which took place on the 26th of May, had been fixed for the 21st of April, the anniversary of Handel's funeral, which explains the sarcophagus. In the second Handel is seated, in the act of composing, whilst the Genius of Harmony places on his brow the crown of immortality, and an angel, flying up to heaven, bears his name inscribed upon a bandrol. In the third, England points to a pyramid upon which the name of Handel is inscribed.

The stricter sort of devotees blamed the selection of Westminster Abbey as the place in which to hold the festival. They were scandalized at the idea of singing the praises of a man, by his works, in the temple of the Lord, although all his works were

[1] The Bishop of London, in permitting this festival within the walls of the Abbey, made it a condition, which cannot be blamed, that the Westminster Hospital should have a share in the profits.

[2] Those tickets accounted for about £200 in the expenses of the Commemoration.

for the glory of the Lord, and the poor gained by it £7000. The poet Cowper, who was, however, an excellent man, directed some verses against what he held to be,—

"A deed, less impious than absurd;"

but even whilst he blamed—

——"the Commemoration mad,"

he yet paid homage to him in whose honour it was given :—

"Remember Handel! who that was not born
Deaf as the dead to harmony, forgets,
Or can, the more than Homer of his age?"

But the "mad" criticisms produced a very slight impression, and the festival was renewed in 1785-86-87 and 91; always very much to the advantage of the poor and the hospitals. Since that time, however, an excessive devotion has made great progress in England, and in spite of the consent of the Bishop of London, who threw open the Abbey in 1784, and the following years—in spite of the adhesion of many of the ministers of religion, who, in all surety of conscience, took part in these festivals, when it was proposed in 1836 to celebrate another festival, the Duke of Newcastle moved the House of Lords twice—on the 10th of April and the 1st of May—to refuse its permission to "such a desecration." The Bishop of London for the time being supported him, and together they prevailed!

At the end of the last century the clergy had certainly much more extended ideas than those of the present day, and their reputation did not suffer on that account. Not only did the ministers of religion take part in sacred festivals which were given in the churches, but they even assisted in the execution of them. The Rev. Daniel Lysons states that the solo singers at the Worcester Festival of 1773 were Norris, Price, Miss Linley, and Mrs. Radcliffe, "assisted by the Reverend Mr. Maxey, the clergy, and the gentlemen of the three choirs."[1] In 1777, we find the Reverend Mr. Maxey upon the platform, at the Hereford Festival.[2]

To return, however, once more to the Commemoration of

[1] *History of the Three Choirs of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford*, page 205.

[2] *Ibid.*, page 207.

1784. It redoubled the admiration of the English for Handel, and at that time no music but his was in the fashion. Everybody went mad about him; and many gentlemen wore rings bearing his portrait in miniature. When the intellectual atmosphere of a country is charged with that kind of electricity, the secretions of the poetic gland among its inhabitants always become greatly excited. By virtue of this unpleasant law of nature there came a torrent of versified prose in honour of the immortal musician. Dr. Benjamin Cooke set to music an *Ode to Handel*, by the Rev. Dr. Scott; and the *Commemoration of Handel*, by John Rinsig, does not contain less than forty-two octavo pages of verses!

"J'en passe, et des des meilleurs."
Hernani (Victor Hugo).

It has been stated that Handel bequeathed all his musical books to his pupil, Christopher Smith. He deserved them. The King of Prussia offered £2000 for the collection of MSS.; but Smith, who, through love to his master, had already refused £3000 from Handel himself, would not accept the offer. He did not wish to separate himself from his treasure, nor would he permit it to go out of England.[1] At a later period, having become attached to the household of the Dowager Princess of Wales, the mother of George the Third, she granted him a pension of £200 a year. After the death of the Princess, the King graciously continued the pension out of his privy purse, presenting the grant with his own hands to Smith, who was then growing old. The worthy man, touched by this kindness, offered to George the Third, as a return, a present which was more than royal; he gave him all the MSS., Handel's harpsichord, and the marble bust of the great man which had been executed by Roubiliac; keeping for himself a portrait painted by Denner in 1736 or 1737, and the scores which Handel had used in conducting the performances of his works.[2]

Such is the origin of the Handelian collection at Buckingham Palace. It has frequently been stated that it was purchased by George the Third; and it is only just to both the

[1] *Anecdotes of Handel*, page 49. [2] *Ibid*, page 55.

prince and the artist to prove that it was generously given and not sold—nobly accepted and not paid for. It consists of Handel's original MSS., to the number of eighty-seven volumes. It is in the royal palace of London, but not lodged there, it must be confessed, in a royal style. Buried in a sort of private office, and still kept in its poor original binding, it is concealed from all the world, and, I may say (using the figurative expression of an old nursery tale) that *if I were the Queen*, I should have those precious volumes bound in crimson velvet, mounted with gold, and I should have a beautiful cabinet to hold them, which should be surmounted by Roubiliac's fine bust, and supported by four statues of white marble, representing Sacred and Profane Music, Moral Courage, and Honesty. This I should place in the Throne-room of my palace, proclaiming by this means to every one that it is one of the most invaluable jewels of the English Crown.

The bust which was presented to George the Third now adorns the magnificent gallery of the Queen's private apartments at Windsor. As for the harpsichord, all my researches have not enabled me to ascertain what has become of it.[1]

[1] Here is a question to be cleared up. The *Anecdotes of Handel and Smith* say (at page 55):—". . . Smith accordingly expressed that gratitude in a way which he thought most acceptable to his sovereign; he presented to the king the rich legacy which Handel had left him of all his manuscript music in score, the harpsichord, so remarkable for the ivory being indented by Handel's continued exertions, and his bust by Roubiliac he sent afterwards to Windsor Castle. Of all his great instructor had bequeathed him, he only reserved to himself the portrait executed by Denner. This volume, which is by the Rev. William Coxe, who is mentioned in it as the son-in-law of Smith, cannot well be in error as to a fact so important, and which belonged to the renown of the family. Yet Messrs. Broadwood have in their possession a harpsichord, which they exhibit in perfect good faith as that which belonged to Handel. Mr. Broadwood has most kindly and openly shown me the instrument, and has furnished me with copies of the following documents, which, in his opinion, establish its identity:

"My dear Sir,—Will you oblige me by certifying (if I am correct) the following:—

"The celebrated Mr. Smish (or Schmidt) was *Handel's private* friend and *amanuensis*.

"This said Mr. Smish was presented by Handel with his favourite fine *double-keyed harpsichord*, made by the best maker of the day, Andreas Rucker, of Antwerpia, 1651.

"This said instrument you have repeatedly heard Mr. Schmidt play on.

"Mr. Smish was father-in-law to you, as well as your sister, the late Dowager

Another marble bust, also by Roubiliac, is at the Foundling Hospital. It is said that the sculptor made it at the same time as the Vauxhall statue of 1738. Mr. Bartleman, the conductor, acquired it when the properties in the gardens were sold, and at the death of Bartleman it was offered for sale; Mr. Pollock bought it and presented it to the Hospital. It is a superb work, full of life. The head is shaved and covered with a cap, which is artistically arranged. A very good cast of it has been taken, and copies may now be easily obtained. The Windsor bust wears the large wig whose motions used to be regarded with such attention in the orchestra. It is, without doubt, one of these two marbles of which plaster-casts were thus announced in the *Public Advertiser* of the 19th of April, 1758:—"To the lovers of music, particularly those who admire the

Lady Rivers, and at his death the said harpsichord came into the hands, together with a large collection of Handel's oratorios, &c., &c., MSS., of the Dowager Lady Rivers.

"This instrument was parted with to a Mr. Wickham, surgeon, who parted with it to the Rev. Mr. Hawtry, Prebendary of Winchester Cathedral, upon the death of whom I purchased it at the sale of his effects, and in whose possession it still remains.

"Is not this the identical instrument now spoken of? Your early answer to these queries (as the only living witness) will oblige, &c.

(Signed) "G. W. CHARD.*

"To the Rev. George Coxe,
"Rector of St. Michael's, Winchester.

* [Dr. Chard was organist of Winchester Cathedral.]

"P.S.—Will you oblige me by certifying on this sheet of paper and returning it."

[Underneath, is written:—]

"I certify that the above statement is correct, as far as my knowledge goes.

(Signed) "GEORGE COXE.

"Twyford, May 13th, 1842.

"Witnesses to the above Signature,

(Signed) "SUSANNA GREGG.
"JAMES HARRIS."

"*Note.*—This harpsichord appears to have passed into the possession, after Dr. Chard's decease, of Mr. Hooper, a professor of music at Winchester, who forwarded the above particulars to Messrs. Broadwood."

The question is, do these documents, however sincere may have been their authors, merit any very great confidence? Is the certificate of the Rev. George Coxe (doubtless the brother of the Rev. William Coxe, the author of the book) of any great value? What it attests, namely, that the *MSS. and the harpsichord* were left by Smith to his daughter-in-law, Lady Rivers, is entirely contradicted by the book. This book (which was written in 1799, immediately after Smith's death, and whilst

compositions of George Frederic Handel, Esq.—F. Bull, at the White Horse, on Ludgate Hill, London, having, at a great expense, procured a fine model of a busto of Mr. Handel, proposes to sell by subscription 30 casts in plaister of Paris. The subscription money is one guinea. The busto, which will make a rich and elegant piece of furniture, is to be 23½ inches high, and 18 inches broad." The twenty-three and a half inches high, by eighteen inches broad, could not fail to persuade a large number of musical amateurs into purchasing, upon such excellent terms, "a rich and elegant piece of furniture."

The head of the statue in the monument at Westminster Abbey is regarded as one of the best portraits of Handel. Roubiliac used for it a mould which he had taken from nature on

Lady Rivers was alive) affirms that "the harpsichord was given to George the Third," and not to Lady Rivers. I do not allude to the *MSS.*, supposing that it is to the copies, and not the originals, that reference is here made. The originals were given to George the Third.

The Rev. George Coxe, moreover, expresses himself with marked reserve:—"As far as my knowledge goes," says he. This is surely not enough to controvert what had been published by a member of the family forty-three years back, during the lifetime and within the knowledge of the interested parties themselves.

The harpsichord given to George the Third is not to be found in any of the royal palaces, but it does not agree with the genealogy of that which is in the possession of Messrs. Broadwood. That is indeed by Ruckers, the most celebrated maker of his time, and so also was Handel's, but the double key-board bears none of those marks which the industrious fingers of the great composer are said to have imprinted there; nor is it credible that any man ever existed who was barbarous enough to repair the traces of such a sublime wear and tear. These observations appear to throw some doubt upon the authenticity of Messrs. Broadwood's relic. But whether that be so or not, a description of it may be interesting. It bears the name of "Ruckers, Antwerpia, 1651." The case and lid are painted black, with ornaments in gold and colour, a sort of lacquer-work. The sound-board is ornamented also, to the great risk of its sonority. Upon a ground of pale green are arabesques, among which sit half a dozen monkeys executing a concert. The lid is inscribed upon the under surface, in letters of gold, *Sic transit gloria mundi*, a legend which is often to be met with upon spinetts and harpsichords, and which doubtless signifies that the glory of the world vanishes as sound in space. On that part of the lid which turns back when the harpsichord is opened is, *Musica donum Dei* (Music is the gift of God), also written in gold letters, upon a black ground.

In the preface to his edition of *The Messiah*, Mr. Horsley gives a letter, received from Mr. Gillman, on behalf of Lord Howe, which states:—"At Mr. Jennens's death, the organ which Handel used whilst composing *The Messiah*, and much of the original score of many of his works, were assigned in the division of the property to Lord Aylesford, and are still at Packington. The organ is in the church there; an old spinett, which Handel much used when at Gopsall, is here, but in a perfectly useless condition." I learnt, upon the spot, that the "old spinett which Handel *must* have used" is dated 1770 or 1772; that is, eleven years after his death!

the very day of Handel's death. A few proofs of that precious mould have been taken and distributed, but I have been unable to find a copy anywhere, and the oldest amateurs tell me that they have never seen one. I only know of its existence through a little woodcut, which is itself of excessive rarity.

Denner's picture now belongs to the Sacred Harmonic Society, upon whom it was bestowed by the present Lady Rivers, in January, 1857. It has been engraved for the *Anecdotes of Handel and Smith*. This painting has some of the qualities and all the defects of its author. Denner, who worked in oil with the delicate minuteness of an enamel, and who painted even the pores of the skin and the separate hairs of the beard or a fur lining, could not comprehend the powerful face of the author of *Israel in Egypt*.

There are many portraits of Handel, which are very different from each other. Every artist interpreted, in his own manner, and wished, as it is said, to idealize him; but the traditions of the great masters—of Titian, Correggio, Vandyke, Rubens, Philippe de Champagne, and Rigaud– traditions recovered by Reynolds, by Lawrence, and by Sigalon, were lost in the eighteenth century. Mr. Snoxell possesses one by Wolfand, who, even more than Denner, has made a Handel after his own taste—fat, rosy, in excellent condition, and looking like a rich man quite contented with himself. It is very ugly.

The Royal Musicians' Society has two portraits by Hudson, one of which appears to be the duplicate of the other. This is the best known of all, as it has been the most frequently copied. Arnold has given it in his edition. The original mezzotint engraving, which is a good work, is due to Faber, and is dated 1745. Handel is in full dress, and is seated, with an open roll of music in his hand. The painter has given an extraordinary degree of animation to his features; but the head appears to me to be too short, and the contour of the face too round.

Mr. Försteman says that, in 1844, two grand-daughters of Johanna Friderica Flörchen, *née* Michaelsen, the niece and god-daughter of Handel, still possessed, at Halle, several precious

things—watches, rings, &c.—which came to their grandmother by virtue of her uncle's will, as well as "the fine original portrait painted by Hudson." The miracle of the multiplication of the loaves has been revived for this "fine portrait painted by Hudson." Here we have it at Halle; already it has been stated to be at the Royal Musicians' Society at London; moreover it is said to be at Windsor; and, finally, Messrs. D'Almaine, the music publishers, pretend also, in their catalogue, that they have it in their shop. I have not been able to discover the Windsor one in any part of the Castle which is open to the public; that at Halle is too far distant; and as for that of Messrs. D'Almaine, it is not improbably an advertising puff, for these gentlemen are unable to produce it when it is asked for; but there is one clearly signed "T. Hudson, 1756, f.," at Gopsall. In this Handel is represented life-size, full-length, seated, dressed in a coat and shot-silk breeches, *gorge de pigeon*, embroidered with gold. He wears a sword by his side, and holds a long cane in his hand. Under the left arm he carries a little, flat, three-cornered hat. His head is covered with an immense, long, white wig. At the period when this was taken he was seventy-two years old. It was painted expressly for Charles Jennens. Mr. Lonsdale, the music publisher, has a copy of it reduced to a half-length, inherited from Dr. Arnold. It is to be observed that in this portrait, although Handel was then blind, the eyes are those of a man who can see. It is said that the *gutta serena* does not alter the outward appearance of the eyes.

I found at Cambridge, in the possession of Mr. Ward, a great amateur of music, a little head, in oil, very well executed by Grafoni. It has a very marked character of individuality; the type is exactly the same as that by Hudson, at Gopsall, but fuller; age had not then given him that sharp expression which it imprints upon the human face whilst contracting it. In that head, which looks sixty years old, there are the same features as in Roubiliac's bust, with the cap on, though older, and consequently less vigorously marked. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Ward for his kindness in permitting me to have a copy made.

Mr. Ellerton, a rich composer, possesses also a portrait of Handel, a half-length, life-size, and painted (says its history) in 1720, by Thornhill, for the Duke of Chandos. It is a very fine picture. The composer is seated at the organ, dressed in a coat of green velvet, with a red velvet cap upon his head, arranged something in the style of Roubiliac's bust. The head is turned to the right, with a pleasant and bold expression. It is a superb face, although it already had a double chin. The person is strong and tall; in fact, just what the fine old man whom Hudson and Grafoni painted ought to have been, when only thirty-five years old. It is to be regretted that Mr. Ellerton has not caused this excellent picture to be engraved.

One of the best-known portraits is that which proceeded from the admirable graver of Houbraken, for Randall's edition. It is after a picture of the same size as the engraving, and signed "F. Kyte, 1742." Handel was then fifty-eight years old. Hawkins has pronounced it to be "the only good one, but that the features are too prominent."[1]

Hawkins was probably not acquainted with that at Gopsall, nor with that which has come into Mr. Ward's possession. Houbraken's plate resembles the two latter, with the exception of that heaviness with which it is justly reproached. Mr. Keith Milnes, in a memoir published in 1829, explains that he accidentally met with Kyte's little picture, and had it engraved again, for his own satisfaction, by F. C. Lewis, who has endeavoured to correct the faults, without succeeding, in my opinion. These pieces of manufacture are never very happy, for a portrait cannot be made by guesswork. It is even better to have an imperfect original. Mr. Milnes, who is now advanced in years, is an enthusiastic Handelian, and shares his engravings with whosoever loves and venerates "the greatest of musicians."

It would require at least ten pages even to enumerate the portraits of Handel which have been engraved or lithographed. I have collected fifty-three, and there are probably more in existence. It will be sufficient to say that the best two are those by Houbraken and Faber.

[1] Page 912.

CHAPTER XII.

The Character and Genius of Handel.

Although Handel was born when his father was sixty years old, he was a man of very powerful constitution, and of great muscular vigour. His cotemporaries represent him as being endowed with a rare beauty of countenance. Burney thus describes him :—"The figure of Handel was large, and he was somewhat corpulent and unwieldy in his motions; but his countenance, which I remember as perfectly as that of any man I saw but yesterday, was full of fire and dignity, and such as impressed ideas of superiority and genius." And in a subsequent paragraph — "Handel's general look was somewhat heavy and sour, but when he did smile, it was his sire the sun bursting out of a black cloud. There was a sudden flash of intelligence, wit, and good humour beaming in his countenance, which I hardly ever saw in any other."

Nichols, in his *Literary Anecdotes,* records it as an expression of Burney, that "Handel's smile was like heaven." Hawkins says :—"He was in his person a large and very portly man. His gait, which was ever sauntering, was rather ungraceful, as it had in it somewhat of that rocking motion which distinguishes those whose legs are bowed. His features were finely marked, and the general cast of his countenance placid, bespeaking dignity attempered with benevolence, and every quality of the heart that has a tendency to beget confidence and insure esteem." Thanks to the busts of Roubiliac, and to the pictures of Thornhill, Hudson, Denner, Kyte, and Grafoni, we may say that we are familiar with the features of Handel. It is a fine, noble, and imposing countenance, oval in form, of a grave physiognomy, firm, but at the same time benevolent. Three

characteristics are remarkable in it: the smallness of the mouth; the brightness of the eyes, which are very wide open, animated, and bold, and which betoken a violent and resolute man; and, finally, the short and prominent eyebrows, generally a sign peculiar to profound and powerful thinkers. Such eyebrows had Bach and Beethoven.

Like almost all composers, he was extremely witty. In the *Anecdotes of Handel* we are told that "his affected simplicity gave to anything an exquisite zest." Mattheson says that "he had a way of speaking peculiar to himself, by which he made the gravest people laugh, without ever laughing himself." Dr. Quin, of Dublin, wrote to Burney in 1788:—"Mrs. Vernon was particularly intimate with him; and at her house I had the pleasure of seeing and conversing with Mr. Handel, who, with his other excellences, was possessed of a great stock of humour. No man ever told a story with more effect. But it was requisite for the hearer to have a competent knowledge of at least four languages—English, French, Italian, and German, for in his narrative he made use of them." "All his natural propensity to wit and humour," adds Burney, "and happy manner of relating common occurrences in an uncommon way, enabled him to throw persons and things into very ridiculous attitudes. Had he been as great a master of the English language as Swift, his *bon mots* would have been as frequent, and somewhat of the same quality."

Once at a concert, Dubourg, the excellent violin-player, having a *Coda ad libitum* to play, wandered about in different keys so long that he seemed quite bewildered, and to have forgotten his original key. Eventually he recollected himself, came to the shake, and concluded; whereupon Handel, with his usual coolness, cried out loud enough to be heard by the audience, "You are well come at home, Mr. Dubourg."

Once he had a discussion with an English singer named Gordon, who reproached him with accompanying him badly. The dispute grew warm (which it was never very long in doing with Handel), and Gordon finished by saying that if he persisted in accompanying him in that manner, he would jump

upon his harpsichord and smash it to pieces. "Oh," replied Handel, "let me know when you will do that and I will advertise it; for I am sure more people will come to see you jump than to hear you sing."

When he heard the serpent for the first time, he was very much shocked by the harshness of the sound, and cried out, "Vat de tevil be dat?" He was told that it was a new instrument, called serpent. "Oh," he replied, "de serbent, aye; but it not be de serbent vat setuced Eve."[1] I admit this anecdote, because it is a good one, but, at the risk of passing for a sceptic, I cannot accept it absolutely. The serpent was a hundred years old when Handel came into the world, and it is difficult to believe that they met for the first time in London.

It is related that, when Handel lost his sight, "his surgeon, Mr. Sharp, having asked him if he was able to continue playing the organ in public, for the performance of the oratorios, Handel replied in the negative. Sharp recommended Stanley as a person whose memory never failed; upon which Handel burst into a loud laugh, and said, 'Mr. Sharp, have you never read the Scriptures? do you not remember, if the blind lead the blind, they will both fall into the ditch?'"[2] Even in their most helpless misery, men of wit never deny themselves the consolation of a joke. The reader may recall to mind that Anaximenes bartered his life against the pleasure of indulging in a sarcasm. Having offended Antigonus, who was blind of one eye, it was reported to him that Antigonus had said, "Let him come and excuse himself, and directly he appears before my eyes I will pardon him." "If," replied Anaximenes, "I must appear before *his eyes*, he offers me an impossible pardon." Whereupon Antigonus condemned him to death.

Unlike the greater number of witty men, however, Handel never exhibited any ill feeling in his jocularity. His sallies were inoffensive. He cut without wounding. "He was," says Burney,[3] "impetuous, rough, and peremptory in his manners and conversation, but totally devoid of ill nature or malevolence; indeed, there was an original humour and pleasantry in his

[1] Busby. [2] *Anecdotes of Handel.* [3] *Commemoration*, page 31.

most lively sallies of anger and impatience which, with his broken English, were extremely risible."

In spite of his disposition for merriment, he was very proud and very reserved towards everybody, the little as well as the great. This side of his character is illustrated in a remarkable manner in his MSS., where he generally indicated the names of the artists in the margin of the part which was confided to them. Upon no occasion did he ever fail to put "Mr." or "Sig^{r}." before these names. During the ten years that Senesino and Beard sung for him, and in the tenth year just as in the first, he always wrote their names "Sig^{r}. Senesino," and "Mr. Beard."

Hawkins pretends that, with the exception of music, he was an ignorant man; and all the hackneyed biographers repeat the assertion. I do not believe this. His letters in the French language, which remain to this day, prove that he not only spoke but wrote that language, although he had never been in France. He knew Italian well, and although he spoke English with a very strong accent, he had studied the idiom so as to be able to comprehend all the beauties of the poets.[1] Such linguistic attainments, which are still not very common, were very rare in his time, and do not prove that his education had been neglected. His father, who, like all the German doctors, was acquainted with Latin, had made him study the classics, and it is certain that he read Latin. Hawkins himself says—"He was well acquainted with Latin." In his MSS. are to be found some slight proofs of this. In the German *Passion*, instead of putting "da capo al segno," he wrote "usque ad signum;" and he never expressed the preposition *de* otherwise than by *ex*. It is not less certain that he worked upon several of the poems for his oratorios. There is nothing very precise about the part which he took, but a clause in his will leaves no doubt as to the fact. "I give," says he, "to Mr. Newburg Hamilton, *who has assisted me in adjusting words for some of my compositions*." All this does not certainly indicate an illiterate man; and if it be added, that Handel had the kind of mind which derives the full benefit of

[1] Hawkins. Burney.

whatever it learns, it is difficult to believe that he was so uncultivated as has been pretended. But, after all, no great importance is to be attached to the question. Whether ignorant or not, he was, nevertheless, one of the most learned composers in the world.

He was very absent, and in the habit of talking to himself in such a loud tone of voice, that it was not very difficult to learn the subject of his soliloquies. Once there was brought to him a young man whose taste for music and good dispositions had been praised greatly. But the lad ran away, and on the next day the forsaken protector was heard communing with himself, as he took his walk in Hyde Park, "Der teeffel! de fater was desheeved; de mutter vas desheeved; but I was not desheeved; he is ein t—d schountrel and coot for nutting."[1]

It will have been observed that the author of *The Messiah* had unfortunately adopted the detestable custom of the fashionable world in his day, by swearing upon every occasion. His religious sentiments do not appear, in fact, to have been very strong. "The 'Hallelujah" of *The Messiah*," writes Dr. Beattie,[2] "tends to confirm my theory that Handel, *in spite of all that has been said to the contrary*, must have been a pious man." Mainwaring[3] declares that he resisted all the pressing efforts which were made at Rome and at London to make him change his faith; but he replied that "he was resolved to die a member of that communion, whether true or false, in which he was born and bred." This way of looking upon a creed is more indicative of a determined character than of a soul penetrated with the truths of religion. He seemed to take such matters somewhat at his ease. Hawkins says:[4]—"In his religion he was of the Lutheran profession, in which he was not such a bigot as to decline a general conformity with that of the country which he had chosen for his residence; at the same time that he entertained very serious notions touching its importance." St. Paul was more severe than Hawkins; for he did not hold it to be consistent with Christianity to accommodate herself to the worship of the Pagans. I doubt, moreover, whether a clergyman would think well of

[1] Burney, *Commemoration*, page 37. [2] Vol. ii. page 75. [3] Page 64. [4] Page 911.

any member of the English Church who, when at Rome, should conform to the ceremonies of the Catholics, and write music for St. Peter's.

Nevertheless, towards the close of his career, Handel became attached to religion with the same ardour that he brought to bear upon every intellectual matter. "The loss of his sight, and the prospect of his approaching dissolution," says Hawkins again, "brought a great change in his temper and general behaviour. For the last two or three years of his life he was used to attend divine service in his own parish church of St. George, Hanover Square, where, during the prayers, the eyes that at this instant are employed in a faint portrait of his excellences have seen him on his knees, expressing, by his looks and gesticulations, the utmost fervour of devotion."[1]

Burney says:[2]—"For several days before his death, he expressed the wish that he might breathe his last on Good Friday, 'in hopes,' he said, 'of meeting his good God, his sweet Lord and Saviour on the day of his resurrection.'" It so happened that that consolation was not denied him.

Handel was generous, and was always giving: a sure proof of an elevated mind. When he had been at Hamburg a very short time, his mother, in spite of her poverty, sent him a sum of money, in the belief that he had not enough for his needs; but he, who had got employment in the theatre to play upon the violin, and was also giving private lessons, sent the money back again to that good mother, adding to it a present from himself. He was then only nineteen years old.

It has been seen that among the causes of his second failure were the large salaries which he invariably paid to his artists, even when he could not cover his own expenses. He was not contented with giving away his superfluity, he gave even out of his necessity. In the midst of the derangement of his affairs, he was one of the founders of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Musicians,[3] and he gave almost every year a great per-

[1] Pages 910 and 911.

[2] *Commemoration*, page 31.

[3] In the printed rules of the Society, printed in May, 1738 (it was established on the 19th of April preceding), may be found the following subscribers. It may interest some readers to find united the names of the musicians who were cotem-

formance for its benefit. "His liberal sentiment," says the author of *Anecdotes of Handel*,[1] "not only influenced him in the day of prosperity, but even when standing on the very brink of ruin. He performed *Acis and Galatea* (1740), for the benefit of the Musical Fund; the next year he gave them his epithalamium, called *Parnasso in Festa*, and further extended his kindness by a legacy of one thousand pounds."

We recognize the active benevolence of Handel less by these public benefits, than by the care with which he composed for each occasion something new to add to the attractions of the performance. Thus, in 1739, *Alexander's Feast* was given for the Musical Fund, "with several concertos on the organ, particularly a new one composed by Mr. Handel on purpose for this occasion."[2] The performance of *Acis*, in 1740, took place "with his own performance of two new concertos." One of the hautboy concertos is called "Orchestra Concerto," because the author composed it expressly for a performance of *Amadis*, given in favour of the orchestra of the theatre: "*Amadis, &c.*, to which will be added two new symphonies."[3]

The noble use which he constantly made of *The Messiah*, and all that he sacrificed for the Foundling Hospital, has been already described. The zeal with which he supported that admirable Institution procured for him the honour of being named a member of the committee of direction; "and," says Mainwaring,[4] "many who at the first had been contented with barely approving the design, were afterwards warmly engaged in promoting it, so that it may truly be affirmed, that one of the noblest and most extensive charities in some degree owes its continuance as well as prosperity to the patronage of Handel."

porary with the giant:—"G. F. Handel, Esq.; Dr. Boyce, composer; Dr. Arne, composer; J. Beard, singer; F. Caporale, violoncellist; H. Carey, poet and composer; J. Corfe, composer; Cortiville, flutist; Cervetto, violoncellist; M. C. Festing, violin-player; Dr. Green, composer; B. Gates, singer; T. E. Gaillard, composer; Dr. Hayes, composer; W. Jackson, composer; I. Kelway, organist; J. Keeble, organist; R. Leveridge, publican and composer; Dr. Pepusch, composer; Rosengrave, organist; Ravenscroft, violin-player; J. Reading, organist; T. Reinhold, singer; J. Stanley, organist; J. C. Smith, composer; Weidemann, flutist; Dr. Worgen, composer; Vincent, hautboy," &c.

[1] Page 29.

[2] *Daily Post*, 20th March, 1739.

[3] *Theatrical Register*, June, 1716.

[4] Page 136.

His bust, by Roubiliac, and his portrait (or rather *a* portrait bearing his name) are still in the reception-hall among the benefactors of the Institution.

In the *Anecdotes of Handel*[1] we are told that "his charity was by no means restricted to the public donations, he was equally attentive to the claims of friendship, affection, and gratitude. The widow of his master, Zackau, being old and poor, received from him frequent remittances." In Handel there is a man to love as much as an artist to be admired.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that he was imperious, jealous of his musical pre-eminence, and impatient of all rivalry. One day he said of Gluck (who was then, it is true, only beginning), that "he knows no more of counterpoint as mein cook;" but he said it openly, with his usual *brusquerie*. With him there was no treachery, no little scheme. In all the struggles of his life, he played fairly. His pride did not degenerate into vanity; he did not even share the foible of those who hold a pen, a graver, a chisel, or a pencil: he disdained to speak or give occasion for talk about himself. Mattheson, when he prepared his *Musical Triumphal Arch*, wrote to him in 1735 for notes on his life, sending him a work at the same time; to which he returned an answer, which Mattheson gives in the French text,[2] for it appears that the two old friends corresponded in that language:—

"A Londres ce 29 de Juillet, 1735.

"Monsieur,—Il y a quelque tems que j'ai reçu une de vos obligeantes lettres; mais à présent je viens de recevoir votre dernière avec votre ouvrage.

"Je vous en remercie, Monsieur, et je vous asseure que j'ai toute l'estime pour votre mérite, je souhaiterois seulement que mes circonstances m'étaient plus favorables pour vous donner des marques de mon inclination à vous servir. L'ouvrage est digne de l'attention des connoisseurs, et quand à moi, je vous rends justice.

"Au reste, pour rammasser quelque époque, il m'est impos-

[1] Page 29. [2] Page 97.

sible puisqu'une continuelle application au service de cette cour et noblesse me détourne de toute autre affaire.

"Je suis, avec une considération très parfaite, &c."[1]

"Such a reason," adds Mattheson, "could not be an excuse in 1739, when the Court, the nobility, and, in truth, the whole English nation, was much more attentive to a ruinous war than to music. I reiterated my request frequently, urging it much, but always in vain."

That which above all distinguished Handel as a man, was the rare elevation of his mind. We do not admire him only for his genius, we love and honour him also for a sense of honour from which no critical circumstance could ever cause him to swerve. His conscience was severe, and he was always remarkable (to quote an expression of St. Simon) for "une grande netteté de mains" (the cleanliness of his hands). Every one praises his integrity, which was equal to his talents. He hated the lightest chains, even those which were the most gilt. At an age when artists used to live in a sort of domesticity with the rich and powerful, he refused to be the dependant of any one, and preserved his dignity with a jealous care. The only exception to that rule which can be found in his life, was the eighteen months or two years spent with Lord Burlington when he arrived in England; but we must believe that he was there as a guest, since, in addition to all the operas which he was producing, he enjoyed already a pension of £200 a-year from Queen Anne, and £400 which he received for his lessons upon the harpsichord to the Princesses of the Royal Family. The reader will recall to mind that at Hamburg, when scarcely twenty years of age, when poor and very desirous of visiting

[1] "London, 29th of July, 1735.

"Sir,—It is some time since I received one of your obliging letters; but at present I have received your last, accompanied by your work.

"I thank you, Sir, and I assure you that I have the greatest esteem for your merit. I only wish that my circumstances enabled me better to give you some proof of my inclination to serve you. The work deserves the attention of connoisseurs, and I give you all credit for it.

"For the rest, it is impossible for me to give you the personal information which you require, since a continual application to the service of this Court and nobility prevents me from engaging in any other affair.

"I am, with the most perfect consideration, &c."

Italy, he refused to accompany the Duke of Tuscany, who offered to take him with him.

In order to appreciate here the just value of Handel's conduct, we ought not to judge it by itself apart, but relatively to the ideas of his epoch. It is scarcely credible at the present day what a miserable place even the greatest musicians then occupied in society. Haydn had already produced his first four symphonies, when, in 1759, Friedberg, the conductor of the orchestra for the Prince Esterhazy, employed him to compose one to be played at Eisenstadt, the residence of the Prince. "When the day of the performance was arrived the symphony commenced, but in the middle of the first allegro, the Prince interrupted it by asking who was the author of so fine a thing." "Haydn," replied Friedberg, presenting him to the Prince, who cried—"What! such music by such a nigger!" (Haydn's complexion gave some foundation for such an exclamation.) "Well, nigger, henceforth you are in my service. What is your name?" "Joseph Haydn." "Go and dress yourself as a chapel-master. I don't like to see you so. You are too little, and your face is insignificant. Get a new coat, a curled wig, bands, and red heels; but let them be high, that the stature may correspond with your merit. Do you understand? Go, and everything will be given you." Next morning he appeared at the levée of His Highness, dressed up in the grave costume which had been assigned to him.[1]

Twenty years later, Mozart, the divine Mozart, then organist to the Archbishop of Salzburg, was sent to eat with servants and the cooks of "his prince." He felt all the humiliation of that unworthy treatment, but he thought that he was obliged to tolerate it. A letter by him to his father leaves no doubt as to the authenticity of the fact:—

"Vienna, 17 March, 1781.

"* * * * I have a delightful apartment in the same house in which the Archbishop dwells. Brunetti and Ceccarelli lodge in another house. *Che distinzione!* My neighbour, Herr von Kleinmayern, loads me with civilities, and is really a very charm-

[1] *Biographie des Musiciens*, article "Haydn."

ing person. Dinner was served at half-past eleven in the forenoon, which was for me, unfortunately, rather too early; and there sat down to it the two valets in attendance, the controller, Herr Zetti, the confectioner, two cooks, Ceccarelli, Brunetti, and my littleness. The two valets sat at the head of the table, and I had the honour to be placed, at least, above the cooks. Now, methought, I am again at Salzbourg. During dinner there was a great deal of coarse, silly joking; not with me, however, for I did not speak a word, unless absolutely obliged, and then it was always with the greatest seriousness. So when I had finished dinner, I went my way."

Eight days afterwards, in another letter, Mozart, who was excessively hurt, made another reference to the cooks:—"What you tell me concerning the Archbishop's vanity in possessing me may be true enough, but what is the use to me? One does not live by this. And then, with what distinction am I treated? M. von Kleinmayern, Bocnecke, and the illustrious Count Arco, have a table to themselves; now, it would be some distinction if I were at this table—but not with the valets, who, besides taking the head of the table, light the lustres, open the doors, and attend in ante-rooms."[1]

Since Haydn and Mozart were so treated in the very flower of their genius, without daring to resent it, Handel must have had a lofty spirit to hold himself as he always did. These are the terms with which, in 1721, he dedicated to George the First his opera of *Radamisto*:—

"Sir,—The protection which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to allow both to the art of musick in general, and to one of the lowest, though not the least dutiful of your Majesty's servants, has emboldened me to present to your Majesty, with all due humility and respect, this *my first essay* to that design. I have been still the more encouraged to this, by the particular approbation your Majesty has been pleased to give to the musick of this *Drama*, which,

[1] *The Life of Mozart*, by E. Holmes, pages 185-6.

may I be permitted to say, I value not so much as it is the judgment of a great monarch, as of one of a most refined taste in the art. My endeavours to improve which is the only merit that can be pretended by me, except that of being with the utmost humility, Sir, your Majesty's most devoted, most obedient, and most faithful subject and servant,

"GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL."

All this is, doubtless, rather too respectful; but when we remember the revolting baseness with which the documents of this kind, which the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have left for us, were generally composed, we cannot fail to perceive a certain tone of reserve, which is not to be found anywhere else. To judge the better of this, let us see, for example, how Haym, in 1723, dedicated his poem of the opera of *Giulio Cæsare* to the Princess of Wales, the daughter-in-law of George the First:—"Ogni madre gode d'aver figliuoli per accrescere il numero di suoi devoti, ed ognuno prega il cielo per la sua prosperità e conservazione. Testimonii ne sono quei numerosi applausi che si odono a ogni quale volta ella se fa vedere in publico, et la Britannia semberebbe ancor troppo angosta nelle lodi dovutele se non unisse con essa il mondo tutto. Anch'io nell' universali acclamazioni, non ho potuto negare a me stesso l'onore di inchinarmi all' A.V.R., con uno dono che benche tenue, non le sara forse discaro per essere un drama destinato al nobile divertimento della casa reale."[1] . . .

If we remember that this was then the usual tone of dedications, it will be admitted that it would have been difficult for Handel to say less than he did in his. It is to be observed moreover, that, with the exception of *Radamisto,* and contrary

[1] "Every mother is rejoiced at having children to augment the number of persons devoted to your Royal Highness, and every one implores Heaven for your prosperity and your preservation. Of this there are proofs in the universal plaudits which accompany your Royal Highness whenever you rejoice the eyes of the public with your royal presence. And as if England were too narrow to celebrate your praise, the whole world joins with her in a homage which is justly your due. In the midst of these universal acclamations, I cannot deny myself the honour of inclining before your Royal Highness, and respectfully offering you a tribute which, however small, will perhaps be acceptable to you, as a drama nobly destined to divert a royal house."

to the universal custom, he did not dedicate his works to any potentate upon the earth. He begged for patronage from no one. That respect for himself from which he never departed, gives him a special position, apart from all, among artists and poets. Overcoming every obstacle by an inexhaustible energy, caring little for that world which tyrannizes so over the vulgar, he was all his life the same child of seven years old who went to Weisenfelds in spite of the resistance and scolding of his father. Being informed at Aix-la-Chapelle (where he was taking the baths) that the King of Prussia was coming and wished to see him, he left the place a few days before the arrival of the disappointed monarch.[1] Twenty years after Handel conducted himself thus with kings, Haydn permitted an Hungarian magnate to say to him: "Go and dress yourself like a chapel-master."

This spirit of independence was one of the causes of the animosity which the English aristocracy entertained against him. At that time they were so destitute of good sense and intelligence as not to perceive that all men are equals, when they do not abase themselves by dishonourable actions, or by the adoption of a degrading profession, and they taxed with insolence the dignity of the noble artist. During long years he showed a bold front to the implacable war which they declared against him, and although twice routed he was never subdued. He never surrendered, and, thanks to his perseverance, he gave his enemies time to triumph over their own prejudices. He had the inflexibility of all great minds. He was a true hero—a moral hero. Even the coolness with which his masterpieces were received did not discourage him. He was the first to console his friends for his defeats. Burney heard him reply intrepidly to some one who was expressing his regret at seeing the house so empty:—"Nevre moind, de music vil sount de petter." Vexation at defeat, ruin, bankruptcy, and all the sorrows which they bring upon a man so proud as he was, could not weigh him down: he recommenced again and again, and, by

[1] *Anecdotes of Handel*, page 27.

dint of activity, energy, genius, and courage, he finished by conquering Fortune.

The natural predilection which you take for the man whose life you are writing, when the task is a pleasant one, does not lead me so far as to make of Handel a fanciful personage. I show him really as he was, and as he is painted by every author. Mainwaring says:[1]—"This noble spirit of independency, which possessed Handel almost from his childhood, was never known to forsake him, not even in the most distressful seasons of his life. No prospects of advantages could tempt him to court those by whom he thought he had been injured or oppressed."

The *London Chronicle* of the 12th of June, 1760, thus sums up a biographical article upon him:—"Such was Handel, in whose character, whatever was wrong, there was nothing mean. Though he was proud, his pride was uniform; he was not by turns a tyrant and a slave, a censor in one place and a sycophant in another; he maintained his liberty in a state in which others would have been vain of dependence: he was liberal even when he was poor, and remembered his former friends when he was rich."

In the *Anecdotes of Handel*,[2] we are told that—"He was tenacious in all points which regarded his professional honour. His aversion to subscription engagements and the resolute inflexibility of his temper prevented the accession of some friends and alienated others. With conscious pride, he was unwilling to be indebted but to his own abilities for his advancement."

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1760, which, in referring to the disputes of 1733 and the following years, necessarily took the part of the gentlemen, expresses itself thus:—"Nothing was wanted to recover his affairs but such concessions, on his part, as his opponents had a right to expect. These concessions, however, his temper would not suffer him to make."

Hawkins observes, upon the same subject:[3]—"Such as are not acquainted with the personal character of Handel, will wonder at his seeming temerity in continuing so long an opposition

[1] Page 41. [2] Page 27. [3] Page 878.

which tended but to impoverish him; but he was a man of a firm and intrepid spirit, no way a slave to the passion of avarice, and would have gone greater lengths than he did rather than submit to those whom he had ever looked on as his inferiors."

Busby, in referring to the same period, says:—"In this arduous situation, which lasted near eleven years, he fought manfully; he displayed great superiority and force of mind. He did not condescend to conciliate favour by degrading concession, or to reduce the expense by engaging inferior performers, or diminishing the salaries of those whom he employed."

Even his adversaries have thus represented him. We have seen that Goupy, in the caricature of *The Charming Brute*, makes him trampling under foot a scroll, upon which is written—*Pension, Benefit, Nobility, and Friendship*. The satirist paid him the greatest compliment in thus attempting to insult him; for it is a noble thing to despise pensions, benefits, and power, in order to preserve the independence of the mind. As for the word "friendship," we can only suppose that it was a reproach against Handel, on the part of Goupy, for having disregarded his; but the caricature itself proves that the musician, transformed into a gluttonous beast, made no very great mistake as to the value of the painter's friendship.

Handel's pride was intimately connected with the respect in which he held his profession. He was a socialist by anticipation. He knew that the Beautiful has a moral mission, and regarded artists as fulfilling a priesthood. "Some days after the first exhibition of the divine oratorio *The Messiah* (at London), Handel came to pay his respects to Lord Kinnoull, with whom he was particularly acquainted. His Lordship, as was natural, paid him some compliments on the noble entertainment which he had lately given the town. 'My lord,' said Handel, 'I should be sorry if I only entertained them, I wish to make them better.'" Dr. Beattie, in relating this anecdote,[1] declares that it was communicated to him by Lord Kinnoull himself. It may be imagined that an artist who was imbued with such ideas, would

[1] Vol. ii. of his *Letters*, page 77.

frequently find himself in opposition to an age which treated musicians as mere instruments of pleasure.

But there is unhappily a great defect to be set against the noble qualities of Handel. He was of an excessively violent character. For the slightest reasons he became fearfully enraged. One day, Dr. Morell represented to him that the music of an air did not exactly render the sense of the words; whereupon Handel instantly flew into a most foolish passion, and cried out, with the anger of insulted pride, "Vat, you teach me music! De music, Sir, ish good music. It is your words ish bad. Hear de passage again," repeating it vehemently on the harpsichord. "Dere; go you, make vords to dat music." The Doctor escaped as soon as he could, for there is no reasoning with a whirlwind. Many other examples of these ebullitions of temper are quoted, and they are all quite as unreasonable; but they subsided as quickly as they came. It was wholly a matter of temperament, and never caused harm to any one. In the *Anecdotes of Handel*, we are told that "he was irascible, but not vindictive," and he afterwards repaired his fault with the greatest frankness.

One evening, in 1748, at the house of Sig[a]. Frasi, whither he had brought a duet of *Judas Macchabæus*, he was accompanying the songstress and Burney, who made out the music as well as they could, when suddenly, at a certain passage, Handel flew in a rage, and scolded Burney soundly. The latter, who was then very young, and an earnest admirer of the great man, was terrified; but nevertheless, in the midst of the tempest, he ventured to suggest that there might be some error in the MS. copy. Whereupon Handel, still violently enraged, looked at it, "and then instantly, with the greatest good humour and humility, said, 'I peg your barton, I am a very odd toc; Maishter Schmitt is to plame.'"[1] Burney, who amuses himself with preserving that German accent, which Handel appears never to have lost, relates another anecdote of this suddenness of temper.[2] Carestini, who was, nevertheless, a good musician, took it into his head to send back the air in *Alcina*, "Verdi prati," as not suited

[1] *Commemoration*, page 35. [2] *Ibid*, page * 24.

to him. On receiving this message Handel became furious, ran to the house of the artist, and accosted him thus: "You toc! don't I know petter as your seluf voat es pest for you to sing? If you will not sing all de song voat I give you, I will not pay you ein stiver."[1] If Carestini had taken offence, Handel would have been compelled to close his theatre; but to see "Verdi prati," one of the most beautiful things in the world, sent back, was, it must be confessed, a provocation likely to excite the bile of a man more enduring than Handel.

As for the grossness of his language, and the oaths with which he seasoned it, however blamable they may have been, we ought not to judge them too severely. Men and their manners must be considered according to their epoch; and the epoch in which Handel lived was fearfully gross. In reading its literature, one is disgusted at the vulgarisms, the shamelessness, and often the obscenity, that we find there. You could not say in the present day, even in familiar conversation, what Dryden caused to be spoken before a whole theatre-full of people. After having searched through the *Gentleman's Magazine*, from 1730 to 1740, a publication which was certainly in all hands, and open upon all tables, I declare that the epigraph, "La mère en permettra la lecture à sa fille" (*The mother would permit her daughter to read it*), is not applicable to them. Many mothers even would not permit themselves to read such things. Women must then have listened to things which the most ill-bred of our modern young men would not utter. Their presence was no restraint on the detestable custom which all the men had of swearing. One day, in the presence of Queen Caroline, the wife of George the Second, and before the Duke of Grafton, reference was made to the supposition that she had not been insensible to the attentions of a certain German prince. "G—d, madam," said the duke, in the fashionable blasphemous

[1] Although I see no reason to accuse Burney of having fabricated this story, I suspect him, however, of having *Germanized* the form, in order to render it more amusing. Carestini, who had then lately arrived in London, was probably not perfect in his English, and Handel, who spoke Italian very well, and was doubtless anxious to be understood, was not likely to select his Anglo-German jargon to apostrophize him in.

style of the period, "G—d, madam, I should like to see the man you could love!" "See him," said the queen, laughingly, "do you not then think that I love the king?" "G—d, madam, I only wish I were king of France, and I would soon be sure whether you did or not."[1] When the most fashionable dukes spoke thus to a lady, when the Queen of England had such subjects of conversation, and when such language could be held to her upon such a subject, the "tocs" and "derteiffels" of Handel seem less inexcusable, and we perceive indeed that the nineteenth century has at least gained in decency.

Only one of Handel's violent exhibitions of temper nearly ended tragically. At a rehearsal of *Otho*, Sig[a]. Cuzzoni declared that she would not sing the air "Falsa imagine," in which she afterwards had a very great success. The ruling spirit of the great man had already been irritated by some symptoms of insubordination, and this declaration carried him quite beyond bounds. He flew at the rebel, saying, "I always knew you were a very devil, but I shall now let you know that I am Belzebub, the prince of the devils;" and seizing her with one hand, he ran to the window and swore that if she did not sing the air immediately he would throw her into the street. She was afraid, and sang it forthwith.[2]

The terrible Saxon could never overcome the impetuosity of his temper, which did not permit him to make allowances for anybody. At the concerts which he conducted for Frederick, Prince of Wales, if the prince and his wife were not punctual to the stated time, we are told that the conductor "used to be very violent;" and the son of George the Second, to his great honour be it said, respected him too much to be offended. If the ladies of the princess talked instead of listening, "his rage was uncontrollable, and sometimes carried him to the length of swearing and calling names, even in the presence of royalty;" whereupon the gentle princess, who loved him much, would say to the talkative ones, "Hush! hush! Handel is in a passion."[3]

Busby[4] relates a scene of violence which, by its excess, is

[1] *Lives of the Queens of England of the House of Hanover*, vol. i. page 338.
[2] *Commemoration*, page * 24. [3] *Ibid*, page 36. [4] *Concert Room*, vol. ii.

even comic:—"Handel, as is well known, had such a remarkable irritability of nerves that he could not bear to hear the tuning of instruments, and therefore this was always done before he arrived at the theatre. A musical wag, determined to extract some mirth from his irascibility of temper, stole into the orchestra one night when the Prince of Wales was to be present, and untuned all the instruments. As soon as the prince arrived, Handel gave the signal to begin, *con spirito*, but such was the horrible discord, that the enraged musician started up from his seat, and, having overturned a double bass which stood in his way, he seized a kettle-drum, which he threw with such violence at the leader of the band, that he lost his full-bottomed wig in the effort. Without waiting to replace it, he advanced, bareheaded, to the front of the orchestra, breathing vengeance, but so choked with passion that utterance was denied him. In this ridiculous attitude he stood, staring and stamping, for some moments, amidst the general convulsion of laughter; nor could he be prevailed upon to resume his seat, until the prince went in person, and with much difficulty appeased his wrath."

It is easy to imagine that this heat of the blood must have generally broke forth when he was in the exercise of his art. The musicians in the orchestra used to prognosticate the state of his temper by a sign which shows how extremely impressionable he was. "Handel wore," says Burney, "an enormous white wig, and, when things went well at the oratorio, it had a certain nod or vibration, which manifested his pleasure and satisfaction. Without it, nice observers were certain that he was out of humour."

Whatever touched his musical sense excited him like the Pythoness upon her tripod. At the conductor's desk he used to warn the chorus by calling out "chorus;" and the three cotemporary biographers concur in saying that his voice, when he uttered that word, was "most formidable." Miss Hawkins, in her *Anecdotes*,[1] relates of him a circumstance, "which the Dean of Raphoe (Dr. Allot), who remembers him, lives to tell: that Handel, being questioned as to his ideas and feelings when

[1] Page 199.

composing the Allelujah chorus, replied, in his imperfect English, 'I did think I did see all heaven before me, and the great God himself.'"

When he was composing, his excitement would rise to such a pitch that he would burst into tears:—"It is said, that a friend calling upon the great musician when in the act of setting these pathetic words, 'He was despised, and rejected of men,' found him absolutely *sobbing*."[1]

"I have heard it related," says Shield,[2] "that when Handel's servant used to bring him his chocolate in the morning, he often stood with silent astonishment to see his master's tears mixing with the ink, as he penned his divine notes."

The motion of his pen, active as it was, could not keep up with the rapidity of his conception. His MSS. were written with such impetuosity that they are very difficult to read. The mechanical power of the hand was not sufficient for the torrent of ideas which flowed from that volcanic brain. Mr. V. Novello, the learned publisher, who seems to have well studied the MSS. at the Fitzwilliam Museum, seeing a page on which the sand is still upon the ink at the top as well as at the bottom of the page, left in the book the following observation:—"Observe the speed with which Handel wrote. The whole of this page is spotted with sand, and consequently must have all been wet at the same time."

Doubtless we must attribute to this mental ardour Handel's singular habit of employing three or four languages at a time, in speaking as well as in writing. He was a very impulsive man, and neither did nor said the same thing twice in the same manner. He had no habits, and was certainly one of the greatest improvisers that ever lived. He was improvising, so to speak, every moment of his life. He had three or four different styles of handwriting. Sometimes his notes have heads so small and tails so thin, that they are more like fly-scratches; sometimes their heads are as big as bullets, with tails of terrible thickness. His MSS. are quite linguistic curiosities, for they contain thousands of memoranda, of which no two are alike. One day

[1] Third volume of Burgh, who does not, however, indicate his authority.

[2] *Introduction to Harmony.*

they are in English, the next in German, the day following in Italian, and on another day in French; afterwards, in all these languages mingled together, as in the last memorandum to *Berenice*:—"Fine dell' opera Berenice, January 18, 1737, Ausgüfüllen;" and then—"Geendiget den January 27, 1737." So that "End of the opera" is in Italian, "To fill in" and "Completed" in German, and the dates in English. In his orchestration, the instruments are designated in turn by their Italian, French, and English names. Not only do these memoranda offer an image of the confusion of tongues, but even their place is changed every day; to the right, to the left, at the top and at the bottom of the page, sometimes before the date, and sometimes after. They seem like a perpetual defiance given to human nature, whose general disposition it is to contract fixed habits.

It is a strange thing that this man, so inflammable, so accessible to anger, and the transports of inspiration, had nevertheless very moderate tastes. He ate largely, but he seems to have had an exceptional and unhealthy appetite to satisfy. The following anecdote is to be found in that little chronicle which is attributed to every great man's life. One day being obliged to dine at a tavern, he ordered enough for three, and being impatient at the delay, he asked why they did not serve up. "We will do so," said the host, "as soon as the company arrives." "Den pring up te tinner prestissimo," replied Handel, "I am de gombany." A triple dinner seems a great deal, even for a famishing man, and it may be that the fact has been magnified for the sake of the joke; but it appears certain that he deserves the reproach of having been a *gourmand*, and too fond of good cheer. This is the vulnerable side upon which his adversaries always attack him, and upon which none of his friends have attempted to defend him. Yet nobody has accused him of gross intemperance. Burney, it is true, relates the following story[1]:—"The late Mr. Brown, leader of his Majesty's band, used to tell me several stories of Handel's love of good cheer, liquid and solid, as well as of his impatience. Of the former he gave an instance, which was accidentally discovered

[1] *Commemoration*, page 32.

at his own house in Brook Street, where Brown, in the oratorio season, among other principal performers, was at dinner. During the repast, Handel often cried out, 'Oh! I have de taught;' when the company, unwilling that, out of civility to them, the public should be robbed of anything so valuable as his musical ideas, begged he would retire and write them down; with which request, however, he so frequently complied, that, at last, one of the most suspicious had the ill-bred curiosity to peep through the keyhole into the adjoining room, where he perceived that 'dese taughts' were only bestowed on a fresh hamper of Burgundy, which, as was afterwards discovered, he had received in a present from his friend the late Lord Radnor, while his company was regaled with more generous and spirited port."

To this I do not attach the slightest credit; not only because it is ignoble, but because it is diametrically opposed to all that has been proved as to the liberality of Handel's character; because it would be impossible for the master of a house to leave the table every minute, under the pretext of an idea; and because it is impossible that a guest should follow his host from table in order to spy out his proceedings through all the keyholes in the house. Handel was so proud a man, that he never could have given way to such a solitary indulgence. What must his domestics have thought of him, if they had seen him doing such a dirty trick? The anecdote is, moreover, self-contradictory, for we know that *bon vivants* do not like to drink alone.

Handel always lived a very retired life, and never married. Notwithstanding the love which he bore towards his mother, and his extremely charitable disposition, I must confess, not without regret, that the sentiments of affection do not appear (as the disciples of Gall and Spurzheim would say) to have been very strongly developed. Not one woman occupies the smallest place in the long career of his life. When he was in Italy, a certain lady named Vittoria fell in love with him, and even followed him from Florence to Venice. Burney describes Vittoria as a songstress of talent. M. Fétis calls her "the Archduchess Vittoria;" but both agree that she was beautiful, and that she filled the part of the *prima donna* in *Roderigo*, his first Italian

score.[1] Artist or archduchess, either title was enough to turn the head of a young man twenty-four years old; but Handel disdained her love. All the English biographers say that he was too prudent to accept an attachment which would have been the ruin of both. This is a calumny; for he was never prudent. The bold struggles of his life prove that for him. His refusal is only explicable on the ground of his indifference. I do not urge this in his praise, but I prefer that defect to the other.

"When he was young," says the author of the *Anecdotes of Handel*,[2] "two of his scholars, ladies of considerable fortune, were so much enamoured of him that each was desirous of a matrimonial alliance. The first is said to have fallen a victim to her attachment. Handel would have married her, but his pride was stung by the coarse declaration of her mother, that she never would consent to the marriage of her daughter with a fiddler; and, indignant at the expression, he declined all further intercourse. After the death of the mother, the father renewed the acquaintance, and informed him that all obstacles were removed, but he replied that the time was now past; and the young lady fell into a decline, which soon terminated her existence. The second attachment was a lady splendidly related, whose hand he might have obtained by renouncing his profession. That condition he resolutely refused, and laudably declined the connection which was to prove a restriction on the great faculties of his mind."

I do not care much for the second lady, who must have been a foolish woman; but I cannot forgive Handel for deserting his former love. Nothing in the world can recompense the loss of a true love:—

"Qu'un ami véritable est une douce chose!
Il cherche vos besoins au fond de votre cœur,
Il vous épargne la pudeur
De les lui découvrir vous-même,
Un songe, un rien tout lui fait peur,
Quand il s'agit de ce qu'il aime."

Les Deux Amis (La Fontaine).

[1] At that period, and even later, it was not uncommon to find princes and princesses singing in the pieces which were produced at their courts.

[2] Page 28.

But he had really no other passion than that for music. During the earlier part of his residence in London, he often went to St. Paul's when the afternoon service was finished. There, surrounded by some of his admirers, he delighted them by playing on the organ at that cathedral, which he preferred to all others. Night came, and then they retired to a neighbouring tavern, the Queen's Arms, where there was a harpsichord, which he would play whilst he smoked his pipe and drank his beer.[1] These were all his pleasures. Gradually, as he became more absorbed in his compositions and by the cares of managership, he broke off all relations with society; he refused every invitation, and only associated with three intimate friends—"a painter named Goupy;[2] one Hunter, a scarlet-dyer, who pretended a taste for music;[3] and his pupil and secretary, John Christopher Smith." He had others in the city, but he seemed to think that the honour of his acquaintance was a sufficient reward for the kindness they expressed for him.

Hawkins says, that "no impertinent visits, and few engagements to parties of pleasure, were suffered to interrupt the course of his studies. His invention ever teeming with new ideas, and his impatience to be delivered of them, kept him closely employed." He seldom left his house, except to go to the theatre or to some picture auction. He was a connoisseur of pictures, and possessed some valuable ones. His sole amusement was to go and see exhibitions of them. Alas! his blindness deprived him of that pleasure a long time before his death.

Musical genius is certainly much more fertile than literary genius.[4] The very least composers have produced a great deal, and

[1] Hawkins.

[2] It would be curious to know whether there were two painters named Goupy, and whether this one was the caricaturist; for Handel was not the sort of man to be reconciled to one who had so outrageously ridiculed him.

[3] Hawkins, in relating these peculiarities, says that Hunter, "at a great expense, had copies made for him of all the music of Handel that he could procure."

[4] Porpora wrote fifty operas. Burney quotes Sacchini as an authority, that Piccini wrote more than three hundred, of which thirteen were composed in seven months, but I do not accept the responsibility of this assertion. Sacchini himself was the author of sixty-eight operas, serious and comic. Hasse wrote so much that he had forgotten which were his own compositions. Kaiser produced one hundred and sixteen theatrical pieces, besides oratorios and a great quantity of sacred music.

all the great ones have been exceedingly fruitful. Handel was prodigiously so. His works number altogether one hundred and twenty-two, the greater part of them being of large proportion; and even when we know that he never rested for an hour, and that he devoted himself exclusively to his art, we ask how it was that a single man could supply the material labour which they required. His thirty-nine operas are in three acts; his twenty-one oratorios are not more astonishing for their extent than for their excellence. One feels amazed at that mountain of noble things piled up by a single hand, and especially when we remember that he was not, like Bach (his worthy emulator), a sort of Benedictine monk, working in the peaceful seclusion of a cell, without any difficulties to contend against. On the contrary, circumstances, his activity of mind, and his impetuous character drove him into the current of the world and its affairs.

What this man was able to do astounds the imagination. Take, for example, what he accomplished during the year 1734, when he was director of the Italian Opera:—On the 26th of January, *Ariadne,* an opera in three acts; on the 13th of March, *Parnasso in Festa,* taken from *Athalia,* but containing fifteen original pieces; on the 18th of May, a revival of *Pastor Fido,* entirely recast, *Terpsichore,* a ballet, intermixed with songs; the formation of a new company of singers, and the organization of a new theatre; the composition of *Ariodante,* an opera in three acts, finished on the 24th of October; the opening of a new theatre on the 18th of December; the performance of *Orestes,* a pasticcio; finally, in the midst of all this, the publication of the six famous concertos for thirteen instruments, called the *Hautbois Concertos.*

In 1736 his labours were still more extraordinary:—*Alexander's Feast,* commenced on the 1st of January and finished on the 17th; *Grand Concerto* for nine instruments, on the 25th of

The list of Paesiello's works does not occupy less than four columns of Choron and Fayolle's *Dictionary of Musicians.* The catalogue of Mozart's works fills ten octavo pages of small print in the *Life of Mozart,* by Edward Holmes. A Neapolitan assured the biographer Quantz, that he possessed four hundred pieces of Scarlatti's compositions. The catalogue of Haydn's works includes eight hundred pieces, and (an unheard-of thing) among them are a hundred and eighteen symphonies.

January; *Atalanta*, an opera in three acts, commenced on the 3rd of April and finished on the 22nd; *Wedding Anthem*, with choruses and full orchestra, performed on the 27th of April; *Justin*, an opera in three acts, commenced on the 14th of August and finished on the 7th of September; *Armenius*, an opera in three acts, commenced on the 15th of September and finished on the 3rd of October; "Cecilia volgi," a grand cantata, with three recitatives, three airs, and a duet, on the 22nd of November; "Sei del cielo," a small cantata, on the 22nd of November; and, finally, *Berenice*, an opera in three acts, commenced on the 18th of December and finished on the 18th of the following January.

Another astonishing proof of this abundant vigour was that which he gave towards the end of 1737, on his return from the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle, whilst still convalescent from a paralytic attack:—Commencement of *Faramondo* on the 15th of November; end of the first act on the 28th of ditto; end of the second act on the 4th of December; commencement of *Funeral Anthem* on the 7th of December; end of the same on the 12th of ditto; rehearsal and performance of the same on the 17th of ditto; end of the third act of *Faramondo* on the 24th of ditto; commencement of *Xerxes* on the 26th of ditto. The accuracy of these facts is based upon incontrovertible proofs.[1]

During ten years, from 1741 to 1751, and when he was from fifty-six to sixty-six years of age, and in the midst of the troubles attendant upon two failures, Handel wrote thirteen oratorios, besides *Semele*, *Choice of Hercules*, *Dettingen Te Deum*, *Dettingen Anthem*, several chamber duets, and a great deal of instrumental music; without mentioning his journey to Ireland, which occupied nine months, or the time consumed in mounting and producing each work, every performance of which he conducted in person. When we remember what an oratorio is, that Epic of Music, can we fail to be astonished at the spectacle of an old man who sometimes wrote one, and sometimes two such works in each year? It was Apollo in the body of Hercules.

[1] See "Catalogue," under the title of the above-named works.

He composed one after another, almost without breaking the chain of continuity; *The Messiah* in twenty-three days, and *Samson* in thirty or thirty-five! The history of the productions of the human mind does not contain a similar example. No one ever composed difficult things with such facility.

It is another extraordinary circumstance that *The Messiah* was completed on the 12th of September, and *Samson* taken in hand on the 21st. The end of *Faramondo* is dated on the 24th of December, and the first line of *Xerxes* was written on the 26th. *Saul* was finished on the 27th of September, and *Israel* commenced on the 1st of October. The correspondence between the author of the words for *Belshazzar* and Handel[1] proves that he did not always know the whole of a poem when he began to set it to music. He was gifted with such astonishing powers of conception, that he had no need to collect his ideas beforehand, or to form a plan. He had the faculty of penetrating himself instantaneously with the most opposite passions and sentiments. He did not so much compose as improvise his works. And, nevertheless, they are complete, as strong as oaks, and as solid as rocks; they have no signs of haste. They are massive gold.

Genius acts in many ways. Gluck, who, if he had written instrumental music, would have been something of Handel's stature, found it necessary to collect his ideas before production. His score was finished before he had put the first line upon paper. With the one, thought annihilated space like a race-horse; with the other, it was distilled slowly, like an essence in an alembic. The one produced without difficulty; music welled forth from his brain like water from an abundant spring: the other brought forth as our mothers do, in grief and pain. "Gluck has often told me," relates Mr. Corenses,[2] "that he began by going mentally over each of his acts; afterwards he went over the entire piece; that he always composed imagining himself in the centre of the pit; and that his piece thus combined and his airs characterized, he regarded the work as finished, although he

[1] See page 228.

[2] Article "Gluck," in Choron's *Dictionnaire des Musiciens.*

had written nothing; but that this preparation usually cost him an entire year, and most frequently a grave illness. 'This,' said he, 'is what a great number of persons call *making canzonets.*'"

Handel was a worker not less indefatigable than his genius was inexhaustible. He never abused his supernatural faculties. His MSS., which were so impetuously written, bear the marks of incessant revision. As an example of this constant perfecting process, may be cited the air "How beautiful," in *The Messiah,* which was rewritten four times. In many of the scores, and especially in *Radamisto,* corrections made on little pieces of paper may be found pasted over the passages which had been effaced. In *Esther* there is a recitative, four lines long, which is corrected in this manner; and then the corrected version not having satisfied the composer, he has made a third. The last version is now attached to the original MS.; the first is in the Fitzwilliam Museum. So much patience in such an impatient man, so much trouble taken with four lines of recitative by the man who produced *Israel in Egypt* in twenty-four days, speak volumes for the laborious industry with which he toiled. When he died, scarcely any of his works were as he had written them; all have sustained some change, some transformation. He returned to them constantly with the activity of an inexhaustible fecundity. And yet no man was ever less uncertain than he as to the road which he intended to follow; no one had a more decided will or a more definite end; no one knew more precisely whither he was going, what he wished to do, and what he did. But in addition to his great love for improvement, having been his own manager for half a century, and being consequently obliged to accommodate himself to one circumstance or another, one new singer or another, conducting the score every evening, struggling every day against powerful enemies, and against the musical ignorance of his age, he was compelled to multiply himself, to employ all sorts of means to attract attention, and satisfy that blind and insatiable passion for novelty which was then even more morbid than it is at the present day.[1]

[1] A complete edition of Handel's works is, in this sense, very difficult, and will require more care than the works of any other man. They swarm with variations

In spite of his ardent disposition, he never worked capriciously. His was a well-directed fire. His compositions followed each other with monastic regularity. With the exception of *Hymen*, which was written between the first and second acts of *Saul*, I do not recollect that he wrote more than one at a time.

Grandeur is the distinctive characteristic which dominates over all the compositions of Handel. Even in the exquisite gracefulness of *Acis and Galatea* there is a latent vigour, a certain solemnity of style, which elevates whilst it chains the mind. Every one is struck with this. So true is it, that critics, biographers, friends, and enemies all concur in speaking of him as a "colossus," a "giant," a "man mountain." His atmosphere is the Immensity resplendent with the sun. Like Corneille, he lived in the sublime. Thus, of all musicians, no one has better realized the dreams of those heavenly songs which glorify the Majesty of Jehovah. No one before him, and no one after him, has ever composed choruses comparable to his, or has known how to employ and combine with an equal power the different forces of the human voice. When you have heard an oratorio ten or twelve times, when the first transports of admiration have passed away, when you can more calmly appreciate your emotions, and taste them all the better for being in full possession of yourself, these choruses develop themselves before you like a drama filled with interest; you see each group of the different registers advancing successively, as bravely as a battalion marching to the assault, halt, unfold their strength, and at length display their united power in a majestic and wonderful *finale*. The transitions are so ably managed, and the effects are of such incredible perfection, that you seem to hear ten thousand voices, whose harmonious clamour is loud enough to reach the skies. In this sense, the "Hallelujah" of *The Messiah* is an explosion of incommensurable beauty.

Where have the Pindaric Odes expressed the idea of triumph

and additions, the results of his active life; and these must of course be given, because everything by him is good, and they are useful as illustrating the history of his genius.

more brilliantly and more enthusiastically than the chorus in *Judas Macchabæus*, "See the conquering hero comes?" The battle-cry in the same oratorio, "Sound an alarm," is just such another spark of musical electricity as our *Marseillaise*, which has made myriads brave, and is alone sufficient to immortalize the name of Rouget de l'Isle. And *Israel in Egypt!* Is there an epic poem to surpass that? With what breathless anxiety, with what fervour is the introductory chorus of the Hebrews filled, in which they describe the sufferings of their hard servitude, and implore the succour of the Lord! With what truthfulness are the convulsions of nature painted in the storm of hailstones! With what terrific reality is the thick darkness spread over the earth! What heart-rending lamentations when the first-born of the Egyptians are slain by the hand of God! What a contrast between the silent march of the enfranchised Israelites at the bottom of the miraculous way, and the crowding of the waters together to let them pass. Words cannot depict these superhuman effects of musical art. When you enjoy these, you wish to have around you those whom you love, in order that they may partake of your delight.

The works of humanity proceed from each other. Strictly speaking, no man is a creator. But among men of intellect there are certainly some who are more inventive, or rather who discover more than others. Handel is one of these. Whatever the kind of composition he makes it his own, and his only. He changes or increases it so as to make quite a new thing. This is what is called *creating*. His oratorios are cast in a deeper mould than any one else has ever imagined. They resemble nothing else that has ever been heard before. As a composer of Italian operas, he had opened for himself a new way even in Italy. As a writer of sacred music, likewise, he listened to nothing but his own genius, and disdained to follow the traces of Gombert, of Palestrina, and of Allegri; nor yet of the English composers who had preceded him, Byrde, Gibbons, and Purcell. His *Anthems* preserve a very high religious sentiment, but they have an ardour and a lyrical beauty previously unknown in that species of composition.

His predecessors give us the idea of monks, filled with a grave faith and animated by an ethereal fervour, adoring God in the depths of their cloisters with a touching unction; but he sets before us active and energetic men, singing enthusiastically under the canopy of heaven the glories of the Omnipotent.

The author of *The Messiah* is an epic poet above all; but he exhibits no less superiority in treating subjects with which the fire, the nobility, and the majesty of that style would not so well accord. He has even succeeded in matters for which one would suppose him to be the least fitted. His overtures all uniformly terminate with a coda in minuet, according to the custom of his time. Many of these minuets are delicious, especially in *Tamerlane*.[1] That in *Ariadne* was so much in request, that every fiddler in town and country scraped it about;[2] it was set to words which were sung in the streets as well as in the drawing-room, and nothing but it was heard for six months. The gavot in the overture of *Otho* must have been not less popular, for it was played from one end to the other of the three kingdoms, upon every kind of instrument; as Burney says, "from the organ to the salt-box."[3]

But we are indebted to this multifarious genius for something more than minuets to be sung in the streets. His operas (judging by what I have heard of them upon the piano) prove that, if he had not written oratorios which have absorbed universal admiration, his renown as a composer of theatrical music would have been as great as that of the celebrated Italian masters. They have composed nothing more dramatically fine than "Tutta raccolta," in *Scipio*, and "Trà sospetti," in *Rodelinda*. The duet in *Rinaldo*, "Al trionfo del nostro furor," will bear a comparison with "Esprit de haine et de rage," in Gluck's *Armide;* and it could not sustain a more formidable one. He also produced delicious melodies, elegant as those of Cimarosa; lively

[1] Burney. [2] Burney.

[3] The *salt-box*, which clowns and jugglers used as an instrument, was a common salt-box, inside of which the air was beaten with a little stick. It was also used in rough music. I have an old engraving of 1742, ridiculing a procession of Freemasons, in which this culinary instrument may be seen thus employed. It also figures in Hogarth's caricature against *The Beggar's Opera*.

and spirited as those of Gretry; gentle and holy as those of Pergolese. "Lascia chi io pianga," in *Rinaldo;* "Verdi prati, in *Alcina;* "Ombra cara," in *Radamisto;* and "Piangerò," in *Giulio Cesare,* are *morceaux* of infinite simplicity of expression, and of a tenderness which draws tears from your eyes; they equal the perfection of design, the purity of form, and the delicacy of the cantabiles of Stradella and Palestrina; they are consonant with all that is chaste, good, and affectionate in the human soul. At the same time, he has known how to be as graceful as Haydn (that is to say, to be the perfection of grace) when he wrote the songs for the nymphs in *Acis and Galatea.* The pictures of Watteau are not more lovely than that pastoral, which is a gem of freshness and prettiness.

And this brings me to another of Handel's qualities, that of being a great painter of words. He reflected always as he composed; instead of giving himself up passively to the demon of inspiration, he subjugated and governed it. His notes seem to be the echo of the words. What an immense and mournful grief is there in "He was despised" in *The Messiah!* What heart-rending desolation! No one can listen to it without sympathy. All who have suffered themselves will admit that it is impossible to descend deeper into the depths of sorrow. Thus Handel's music reveals to us, as far as can be, the very signification of that which it interprets. One may say that it articulates, so exactly is it fitted to the poem, as a well-made coat to the body of its wearer. It portrays the thought. The oratorio of *Samson,* above all, is in this respect almost as remarkable as *Don Giovanni,* the masterpiece of the lyric stage. Each personage in it has its peculiar character so distinctly designed as to be intelligible even without the words. There has appeared in Germany a school which pretends to emancipate music, and to reform the art of Bach, of Handel, of Mozart, of Beethoven, of Cimarosa, of Weber, and of Rossini, and to put in its place I know not what. Even this school admires in Handel the perfect appropriation of his note. One of the reformers passes for the author of an article on *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso,* in which it is said:—"If music is to be restored to that state of purity and

depth; when the standard of its worth is sought for in the physical truth of its expression; when the words and their signification are the touchstone of the composition; when the melody of speech shall be the stipulated foundation of the melody sung, there will not be for us northmen, for us Germans, in the entire collection of musical treasures, any works that should be so highly valued and exclusively brought forward, as classical specimens of the study of art, inspired with fresh youth in the spirit just mentioned, as the works of Handel."[1] I will quote also the judgment of a French amateur upon the subject:— "With the greater number of composers one does meet with features intended to adorn the song, and which may be suppressed at need; but with Handel the distinctive feature is inherent to the song, and is almost always the most conspicuous and energetic part of it. It is there that the composer gives the finishing touch of his pencil, and completes the picture, which words alone could never have painted. I shall quote, as an example, the two airs of Satan, in the *Resurrection*. Could audacity, rage, and rebellion be better expressed? Sometimes the character of the personages is revealed by the accompaniment, as in *Giulio Cesare*. Achilla, a kind of military executioner, who is a favourite of Ptolemy, and who has brought the head of Pompey to his master, makes a declaration of love to Cornelia. His song is gross, doubtless, but it only expresses that which he wishes to say. It is the accompaniment which shows what is love in a base and cruel soul. One trembles every moment, lest a word or a gesture of Cornelia should cost her life."[2]

The works of Handel are in fact full of truth and of local colour. To the people of the Lord in their prayers, to pagans in their orgies, to shepherds, to pontiffs, to warriors, to the afflicted and to the happy, to mortals and to supernatural beings, he knows how to render their own peculiar language. He has invented voices for the angels, as Weber did for demons; he has discovered the true accents of a monster like Polyphemus, as

[1] *Musical World*, 10th March, 1855.

[2] Preface to the *Collection des Chants Classiques*. Paris: Richault.

Mozart did for a statue. Gifted with such qualities, he necessarily excels in recitatives; not less than Gluck himself, he knows how to impress upon them at the same time a singular strength and justness of expression—a penetrating and magisterial tone, which satisfies the mind as well as the ears. That in *Giulio Cesare,* "Alma del' gran Pompeo," and the scene of Bajazet's death in *Tamerlane,* may be quoted as examples of the noblest style of declamation. Porpora, who was indebted to his recitatives for a part of his reputation, could not help praising those of Handel even in the midst of the outcry against him in 1734. Shield reports that once having congratulated Haydn on the beauty of the recitatives in his oratorio *Il ritorno di Tobia,* the latter replied immediately, "Ah! 'Deeper and deeper,' in *Jephtha,* is far beyond that." Shield subsequently adds:[1]— "While I was examining this wonderful production for extracts, an impressive singer had the goodness to rehearse it, during which my mind became so agitated by a succession of various emotions, that I determined to lay the whole of this climax and anti-climax of musical expression before the eye of the reader, to prove that the highest praise of it will never amount to an hyperbole." I quite agree with Shield in this.

Another very admirable quality in Handel is his perfect clearness. He never exhibits the slightest inclination for tricks of art; and in his most supernatural conceptions he remains constantly natural. To all the qualities of strength he united the most exquisite delicacy, and always manifested the most supreme good taste. In this, again, the enchanting Mozart is the only one who can be compared with him. He transports and exalts you, but without surprising you. Even in the most remote regions of the empyrean to which he conducts you, the mind never loses its self-possession. He does not embarrass you by oddities: he vibrates every fibre in your being, and that without disturbing your equanimity. He has nothing of that school of dreamers which the admirable Beethoven and Weber have so ennobled. The great Beethoven has been sometimes strange; but he, never. His music is sublimated reason; and it

[1] *Rudiments of Thorough Bass,* quoted by Crosse.

may even be called reasonable music, if the word be used in that true and noble signification which it bore ere dry and narrow souls had rendered it a word of as much ill omen in the arts as it is in politics, merely to hide their own mortal coldness and implacable selfishness.

In Handel, both the form and the thought are pure and simple, free from all alloy. There is scarcely any need of musical education to comprehend it; it would charm the heart of a savage who had never heard a note of music before in his life. His style is exquisite because it is beautiful and true. Father André (paraphrasing St. Augustine) says, "Beauty is the splendour of truth;" and no one has illustrated that proposition better than Handel.

In him we find all the marks whereby to recognize the culminating powers of his art; he has been universal. Certain composers excel in the theatre, others in the church; this one in the fugue or the quatuor, that one in the chamber duet or the cantata; but Handel has treated all styles, and has excelled in all, whether the subject be gay or serious, light or solemn, profane or sacred. He would be the Shakspere of music if he were not the Michael Angelo. Like Bach, Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven, he composed instrumental music, which is as beautiful as his vocal music. The *Suites de Pièces pour le Clavecin* and the *Organ Concertos* would be alone sufficient to place his name in the first rank. To appreciate the value of the *Suites de Pièces*, it is only necessary to quote the few words by M. Fétis:—"These compositions are of the most beautiful style, and can be compared only with the pieces of the same sort composed by Bach." This comparison with Bach is, in the mouth of Fétis, an enormous compliment. Hawkins had already said:[1]—"Without the hazard of contradiction, or the necessity of an exception, it may be asserted of these compositions that they are the most masterly productions of the kind that we know in the world." Burney, speaking of the *Organ Concertos*, says:[2]—"Public players on keyed instruments, as well as private, totally subsisted on these concertos for nearly thirty years."

[1] Page 914. [2] Page 429.

The overtures of Handel are extremely short, as was then the custom; they have none of those symphonic dimensions which are now given to that style of composition. "The most elaborate of them never cost him (as Hawkins affirms[1]) more than a morning's labour." Nevertheless, some of them include marvellous fugues. The celebrated critic Marpurg, in his *Lettres sur la Musique*, declares that he could never listen without emotion to that one in the second overture to *Admetus*.[2] The celebrity which the *Hautboy Concertos* enjoyed during the last century makes one regret that Handel lived in a time when concerted music had not taken its full development.

Men who have been thus admirable in all the branches of art are rare. It is to be remarked that men like Gluck, Cimarosa, Mehul, and Rossini have not dared to write for instruments; they lack this gem in their glorious diadems. There, in fact, is the rock upon which all those geniuses, upon whom Nature has not lavished all her gifts, make shipwreck. Judges say that Leo, Porpora, Hasse, and Piccini are quite beneath themselves in their instrumental music. They inhabit Olympus, but they are only demi-gods.

In that musical Olympus the most divine masters have given to Handel the place of Jupiter Tonans. "He is the father of us all," exclaimed the patriarchal Haydn.[3] "Handel," said the dramatic Mozart, "knows better than any one of us all what is capable of producing a great effect; when he chooses he can strike like a thunderbolt."[4] The lyrical Beethoven called him "the monarch of the musical kingdom. He was the greatest composer that ever lived," said he to Mr. Moscheles.[5] "I would

[1] Page 914.

[2] Quoted by Burney. *Admetus*, *Scipio*, *Saul*, and *Solomon* have, exceptionally, two overtures, one for the first act and another for the second. *Amadis* has really two overtures for the first act.

[3] *Vie de Haydn*, by Stendahl.

[4] Holmes's *Life of Mozart*, page 306. Mozart was such an admirer of Handel that he amplified, in 1789, the orchestration of *The Messiah*, of *Acis and Galatea*, of *Alexander's Feast*, and of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*. As was the custom in these days, Handel has unfortunately left in his oratorios the organ parts *ad libitum*, giving only an indication of the bass. Mozart also filled up some gaps in the works which have been named.

[5] *Life of Beethoven*, by Moscheles, vol. i., page 292.

uncover my head, and kneel before his tomb." Beethoven was on the point of death, when one of his friends[1] sent him, as a present, forty volumes by Handel. He ordered that they should be brought into his chamber, gazed upon them with a reanimated eye, and then pointing to them with his finger, he pronounced these words, "There, is the truth."[2]

What a magnificent subject for a picture. David did not select a more inspiring one in the "Death of Socrates," to which he has given a second immortality. Is it not grand to see these noble geniuses standing before each other upon the threshold of eternity? Is it not beautiful to see the author of the English oratorios arising, as it were, from the tomb to present his works to the author of the Symphony in D, who greeted him with a sublime death?

Handel was not less excellent as a performer than as a composer. He played to perfection on the harpsichord, and above all upon the organ, his favourite instrument. As an improviser, there was only Sebastian Bach who could be compared with

[1] This friend was Mr. Stumpff, a harpmaker in London. Mr. Lonsdale, the musical publisher in Bond Street, perfectly recollects having sold him a copy of Arnold's edition of Handel's works. Mr. Martin, Mr. Stumpff's successor, has discovered in the MS. journal of his predecessor the following memorandum, which he has kindly communicated to me through Mr. Robert Lonsdale:—

"London, August 24th, 1826.

"My nephew Henry Stumpff left to return to his father, and went by a Hamburgh vessel called the Thetis, Captain J. Rutherford. He took two packing-cases: one containing his tools and wearing apparel, and the other the works of Handel, in forty volumes, directed to the greatest living composer, Luis von Beethoven, as a present sent to him, and directed to him at Wien, to the care of Mr. Stincher, pianoforte maker there. Henry will find a conveyance from his home to Wien, and pay all expenses.

"In the score called *The Messiah*, I have written the following words:—

"'Herr Luis von Beethoven is begged most kindly to accept this well-known and complete edition of Handel's works, in forty volumes, in sign of the great esteem and profound veneration of P. A. Stumpff.'

"In London. The above collection cost £45."

These facts give authenticity to the anecdote related by the *Harmonicon*. Beethoven fell ill in December, 1826, and died on the 27th of March, 1827. It is an unheard-of thing that the collection of Handel's works which Beethoven left did not find a purchaser at Vienna. It was offered for sale shortly afterwards to Mr. Lonsdale by Mr. Diabelli, a musical publisher at Vienna!

[2] *Harmonicon*, January, 1828-9.

him. Hawkins, who heard him, says:—"Who shall describe its effects on its enraptured auditory? Silence, the truest applause, succeeded the instant that he addressed himself to the instrument, and that so profound that it checked respiration, and seemed to control the functions of nature; while the magic of his touch kept the attention of his hearers awake only to those enchanting sounds to which it gave utterance."

Handel exercised the same power over his hearers from his infancy. At eleven years of age he threw all Berlin into an ecstasy; at twenty, Hamburg declared his voluntaries of fugues and counterpoint to be superior to those of Kuhnau of Leipsic, who had been regarded as a prodigy.[1] Festing and Dr. Arne, who were present in 1733 at the ceremony of the Oxford Public Act, when he played a voluntary upon the organ, told Burney that "neither themselves, nor any one else of their acquaintance, had ever before heard such extempore or such premeditated playing on that or any other instrument." His execution seized everybody with amazement from the very first moment. Busby relates the following fact:—"One Sunday, having attended divine worship at a country church, Handel asked the organist to permit him to play the people out, to which he readily consented. Handel accordingly sat down to the organ, and began to play in such a masterly manner as instantly to attract the attention of the whole congregation, who, instead of vacating their seats as usual, remained for a considerable space of time fixed in silent admiration. The organist began to be impatient (perhaps his wife was waiting dinner), and at length addressed the great performer, telling him he was convinced that *he* could not play the people out, and advised him to relinquish the attempt, for while *he* played they would never quit the church."

In like manner, when he was at Venice he enjoyed a curious triumph. Arriving in the middle of the carnival, he was conducted that very evening to a masked fête, at which he played upon the harpischord, with his mask upon his face; on hearing which, Domenico Scarlatti, who happened to be present, cried out, "'Tis the Devil, or the Saxon of whom every one is talking."

[1] Mattheson.

Scarlatti was the first player upon the harpsichord in Italy. What took place at Rome between Handel and Corelli still more forcibly proves that our composer was stronger upon the violin than the greatest virtuoso of his time. Mainwaring relates[1] that Arcangelo Corelli had great difficulty in playing certain very bold passages in Handel's overtures, and that the latter, who was unfortunately very violent, once snatched the violin out of his hand and played it himself as it ought to be.

Every musical faculty was carried in him to the highest point. He had an inexhaustible memory. Burney heard him, whilst giving lessons to Mrs. Cibber, play a jig from the overture of *Siroe*, which he had composed twenty years before. It has been seen that the blindness with which he was attacked in 1753 did not prevent him from playing an organ concerto at every performance up to the termination of his career, and he did not always improvise. He sang also marvellously well. "At a concert, at the house of Lady Rich, he was once prevailed with to sing a slow song, which he did in such a manner, that Farinelli, who was present, could not be persuaded to sing after him."[2]

But let me remind the young, that however prodigious may be the gifts accorded by Nature to her elect, they can only be developed and brought to their extreme perfection by labour and study. Michael Angelo was sometimes a week without taking off his clothes. Like him, and like all the other kings of art, Handel was very industrious. He worked immensely and constantly. Hawkins says that "he had a favourite Rucker harpsichord, every key of which, by incessant practice, was hollowed like the bowl of a spoon."[3] He was not only one of the most gifted of musicians, but also one of the most learned. All competent critics admit that his fugues prove that his knowledge was consummate.

It is a singular circumstance in his life that his genius gave him an indirect part in almost all the events of his century. His music was required to celebrate successively the birthday of Queen Anne, the marriage of the Prince of Wales (George the

[1] Page 57. [2] Hawkins, page 913. [3] *Idem*, page 912

Third's father), that of the Princess Royal to the Prince of Orange, the coronation of George the Second, the burial of Queen Caroline, (all great events in those days), the Peace of Utrecht and that of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the victories of Culloden and Dettingen. To this day there is no great public funeral at which the Dead March in *Saul* is not used for the purpose of impressing the mind with the solemnity of the occasion.

One may be disposed to say that Handel himself was a great conqueror. Thanks to his indefatigable perseverance, to his moral courage, to his indomitable will, and to his masterpieces, he succeeded, before he died, in dissipating the cabals which had been formed against him, in crushing folly, and in conquering universal admiration. The public was enlightened by the torch which he held constantly in his hand; the impression which he left behind is profound and living. It is ineffaceable. There is no other similar example, in the history of art, of the influence which one man can exercise over an entire people. All the music of this country is Handelian, and if the English love, seek after, and cultivate, more than any other nation, Bach, Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven, they are indebted to the author of *The Messiah* for it. No man in any country has dominated more generally over men's minds in his sphere of action, no composer ever enjoyed in his native land a more unlimited popularity.

Let me say, in conclusion, that George Frideric Handel has done honour to music, at least as much by the nobility of his character as by the sublimity of his genius. He was one of the too few artists who uphold the dignity of art to the highest possible standard. He was the incarnation of honesty; the unswerving rigidity of his conduct captivates even those who do not take him for a model. His character reminds me of our Bernard Palissy. Both were artists in all the grandeur of the word; both worked ceaselessly for improvement without ever feeling weary; both were virtuous, pure, the slaves of duty, proud, and intrepid; the most terrible adversities could not compel them to pass through the fire to Moloch; their

love of good was as unconquerable as their will; they were no mere puppets of the world; and they died at their posts, working to the supreme hour of their lives, leaving behind them a luminous track of splendid things and noble examples. These are heroes indeed. These are the statues for *our* Pantheon; statues moulded in bronze by the hand of the Great Artisan himself, for the eternal delight and instruction of humanity.

APPENDIX.

THE HARMONIOUS BLACKSMITH.

"*This is the piece which has been published separately a thousand times under the title of* The Harmonious Blacksmith."—See page 65.

Whilst this book was passing through the press, Mr. Robert Lonsdale has brought under my notice a document connected with the history of *The Harmonious Blacksmith*. In a volume entitled *Echos du Temps passé, Recueil de Chansons, Noëls, etc., du* 12^{me} *au* 18^{me} *Siècle* (4to), published at Paris (N.D.) by Mr. Wekerlin, there is a song by Clement Marot, "Plus ne suis ce que j'ai été," of which the air is, note for note, the melody of *The Harmonious Blacksmith*. "This piece," says the publisher, "of which the music *is certainly posterior to the poetry,* is to be found in the *Choix de Chansons à commencer de Thibaut de Champagne,* by Moncrif."

In compliance with my request, my old and excellent friend M. Casimir Gide has obtained in this matter the following explanation from Mr. Wekerlin himself:—"The collection of Moncrif (one volume in 12mo, printed in 1757) is exceedingly rare. I only know two copies of it; one of which is at the library in the Rue Richelieu, and the other in a private collection. It is beyond a doubt that the theme of 'Plus ne suis' is borrowed from the *Pièces de Clavecin,* by Handel, and that Moncrif committed a fault in not affixing the name of the author. Perhaps he was himself ignorant of it; for he was not very well acquainted with music. I only made this discovery after the

publication of my book, otherwise I should not have failed to mention it in my notes."

The *Choix de Chansons*, by Moncrif, cannot then supply any argument to those who wish to deny that Handel was the real author of the piece now called *The Harmonious Blacksmith*. But in the meantime, according to new information communicated by Dr. Rimbault, it would seem that Powell had nothing to do with the affair. Dr. Rimbault has read somewhere (but where he cannot recollect), that *The Harmonious Blacksmith* was published for the first time under that title by Lintott, a publisher of music at Bath, at the end of the last century. When Lintott was asked why he had so baptized it, he replied :—"Oh! my father was a blacksmith, and this was one of his favourite airs." It may therefore be that the popular tradition is founded upon the filial fancy of Mr. Lintott. There is one thing certain; which is, that the tradition has no really authentic basis, and that Handel's famous *morceau* for the harpsichord has no particular designation in the contemporaneous editions of *Suites de Pièces*, in which it originally appeared. It is not less certain that neither Walsh, nor Randall his successor, ever engraved it separately under the name which now distinguishes it; and, finally, that Birchall, who published it before Lintott did, called it merely "Handel's fifth favourite lesson from his first set."

One word more. Dr. Crotch, who discovered among the works of some twenty or thirty composers nearly all the music of which Handel passed himself off as the author, has also discovered the melody which Powell is said to have sung, in a book, with the name of Wagenseil. Wagenseil, who was a harpsichordist of Vienna, was about the same age as Handel, within three years. He was born in 1688, and was certainly a man of incomparable modesty and disinterestedness, for he never claimed as his own the piece which the composer of oratorios had audaciously stolen from him; and that in spite of the European popularity which it speedily gained, and of which he was the witness for nearly sixty years. But virtue has always its recompense. Mr. Richard Clark has rendered unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, for he has engraved the piece under its *true*

title, "*The Harmonious Blacksmith,* a favourite air by Wagenseil, with variations by G. F. Handel, newly arranged for the piano, organ, or harp, by Richard Clark." After this, Handel can never hold up his head again.

ROLLI'S LIBEL.

"*One of my friends who has read my MS. is of opinion that Handel is for nothing in this letter, or at least has but afforded a pretence for attacking Walpole and his Excise,*" *&c.*—Page 131, note 2.

During the preparation of this book, additional evidence upon this point has been brought to me by the friend who originally explained this document as a political libel, which convinces me that his interpretation is the right one, and that the dispute between Handel and his subscribers was only used as a pretext by some political writer intending to attack Sir Robert Walpole and his Excise scheme.

The *Free Briton,* which opposed the *Craftsman* (in which the libel originally appeared), evidently took it in this sense; for in an article headed "The *Craftsman* answered," which appeared on the 24th of May, 1733, the following passage occurs:—"Awhile ago you talked about Signor Montagna, and of a *King* who made *the lowest character in the whole drama.* Indeed, it is a fine way of proving that you did *not affront the King,* when you told him *he had astonished his people.* . . . This passage, to be sure, was meant as the finest stroke of humour in this pious and loyal performance."

It remains to be ascertained who wrote the piece; for the name of Rolli is evidently assumed for the occasion. The *Craftsman* was a newspaper founded by Bolingbroke and Pulteney for the purpose of opposing Walpole's policy, and it ceased to appear when the latter minister fell. Its whole contents and object had, therefore, a purely political tendency. Bolingbroke contributed to it largely under the assumed name of "Caleb

D'Anvers, Esq., of Gray's Inn;" and it is not at all impossible that his audacious pen had something to do with "The New Opera Scheme."

It would not be difficult to take the entire document, and analyze it with this view; but for the present I content myself with specifying, from the explanation of my friend, that Signor Montagnana stands for the King, Handel for Walpole, Sig^a. Strada for the Queen, and Handel's brother (he had none) for Horatio Lord Walpole, who was an eminent diplomatist and a supporter of the emancipation of the Jews. "Sturdy beggars" was an expression which the corrupter Walpole, in the heat of debate,[1] applied to the merchants of the City of London, who attended to petition against the Excise; an expression which did not tend to sweeten the amenities of the controversy.

If Bolingbroke wrote the letter, he must have been as conversant with the affairs of the opera as with those of the State; for the letter, which I am obliged to recognize as entirely political, is in great part adapted with singular exactness to the events which were then taking place in the Haymarket.

THE CLARINET.

"*With the exception of the clarinet, &c., which was not invented.*"—Page 135.

Here there is a mistake. The clarinet *was* invented at Nuremberg, between 1690 and 1700, by Denner, a famous maker of flutes; but the state of orchestral science did not permit a full appreciation of the merit of the new instrument, which was not derived from any other. More than sixty years elapsed before Gossec, the creator of the symphony, forming a high opinion of its utility, employed it in the symphonies which he had performed and published at Paris in 1754. Haydn used it after the French musician, in his first symphony, in 1759. Ever since that the clarinet has occupied the important place which it now

[1] See Hume and Smollett's *History*, and Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, vol. i. page 401.

holds in the middle of the orchestra. (See articles "Denner," "Gossec," and "Haydn," in the *Biographie des Musiciens.*) Handel made use of the clarinet once, in 1724, a quarter of a century before Gossec! In the original MS. of *Tamerlane*, Mr. Lacy has remarked that the air "Par che mi nasca" has for the principal part of its accompaniment "cornetti 1° et 2°;" and in the fair copy of this opera, which is included in Smith's invaluable collection, Mr. Lacy has also observed that the two cornetti are replaced by "clar. et clarin. 1° et 2°." The cornetto, or rather the cornetta (Handel was always very arbitrary about these masculine and feminine genders), was a very ancient horn instrument, and therefore pastoral. The air "Par che mi nasca" is pastoral, and the music, written for the "2 cornetti," could only be played now by hautboys or ... clarinets. Certainly the "*clar.* et *clarin.*" of Smith's copy is only an abbreviation for "clarinette." It is, moreover, the only instance in which this word is to be found in the MS. scores of Handel. According to all probability, some German musician having brought the instrument to England in 1724, Handel immediately tried to make use of it; and the experiment not being successful (whether on account of the badness of the instrument or from some other cause), he thought no more about it. The composers of the period had as yet no complete idea of the symphony; like the great Bach, he found in the hautboy and the bassoon the means of expressing his ideas. He certainly did not know the full extent of what might be done with the clarinet, and he permitted it to escape him. Nevertheless, this is a new fact in the history of music.

Handel always showed the same warm desire of profiting by all the instrumental novelties that were brought to him. The *violetta marina* was scarcely known at London in 1732, when he used it in *Orlando* (see page 123). The serpent was imported, which he had never heard before (at least if the somewhat doubtful anecdote at page 361 is to be believed); and although the importation was not to his taste, he mingled it with the flourishes of *Fireworks Music.* There are even scattered about his MSS. indications of instruments which seem to be ephemeral inventions of which the very recollection is now

lost. Thus his MS. of *Ricardo Primo* (1727) bears "2 chaloumeaux" and "una traversa bassa." It may be supposed that the word "chaloumeaux" was one of his French improvisations, and was intended to stand for "hautbois." Smith, in his original copy, has written "hautbois" in their place; but he also preserves the "traversa bassa," whose name seems to indicate a bass German flute. Therefore there was an instrument called "traversa bassa," of which we now know nothing. What could it be? Doubtless some fancy of an instrument-maker which was not successful.

PASTICCIOS.

"*Handel gave successively 'Semiramis,' 'Cajus Fabricius,' and 'Arbaces.'*—Page 161.

In addition to the three pasticcios here spoken of, there are, in Smith's collection, copies of three other works of the same nature, which were given at Handel's theatre, namely, *Ormisda*, on the 31st of March, 1730; *Lucio-Papirio* (which Colman erroneously attributes to the master himself), on the 23d of May, 1732; and *Il Catone*, in the same year. Burney, in mentioning them according to the order in which they appeared, applies to them the stereotyped phrase, "whether it was a pasticcio, or composed by any one in particular, I do not know." I am convinced that they were *pasticcios*, made up like the others out of such music as happened to be handy. If they had been by anybody in particular, the fact would be known in some manner. Handel, who never attributed them to himself, had no reason to conceal it, and he would scarcely have given his enemies, who were always on the watch, a pretext for attacking him upon that point. The copies which Smith has preserved do not bear any author's name. One can easily understand, nevertheless, why he collected them, however little interest they might possess of themselves; in the first place, in remembrance of what his master had caused to be performed; and in the second,

because he himself had probably been employed in their arrangement. Perhaps he was the author of the recitatives. We do not perceive any traces of Handel's hand in them, as in *Arbaces*, *Semiramis*, and *Cajus*.

THE STATE OF MUSIC IN ENGLAND.

"*The popularity of such a work as 'Israel in Egypt' is an incontrovertible proof of the high point to which musical education has arrived in England.*"—Page 218.

Upon this subject I contributed an article to the *Critic, London Literary Journal*, of June 2, 1856, and I think it not out of place to insert it here, with a few amendments and additions:—

Those who have never lived in England usually deny that there is in that country any taste for or knowledge of music. Never was there a greater mistake. Without excepting either Germany, or France, or Italy, there is no country where classic compositions are more eagerly sought for, listened to, and appreciated, than in England; there is no country where one may hear better music, or where it is executed on a more magnificent scale.

England, it is true, has not produced a single great composer. Purcell, who lived about the end of the seventeenth century, was, with all his high merit and his boldness, only a man of the second rank. We may say the same of Dr. Arne, who was a true composer; for, although little known out of England, and scarcely appreciated even in his own country, he had one great quality of genius, namely, an individuality of style. Handel was a German; he arrived in London ready-made, as it were; and his style remained, after fifty years' sojourn, precisely what it was when he arrived. England has never created a school, or a style peculiar to itself. The *Glees* of the sixteenth century will always charm, just as the Irish melodies do; but they are mere fragments of the simplest kind, and have nothing in them

tending to high eminence. The English know this; and they prove their good taste by never playing their own music, and by only playing the best music of other countries.

Another fact, little known on the Continent, is that the cultivation of music is of very ancient date in this country. It is not even known when the Doctorship of Music was instituted, a degree still conferred in the two great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; but we find mention made of a man named Hambois who bore that title in 1470 (Busby's *Dictionary of Music*). That wild beast called Henry VIII. composed glees which deserved to survive him. In the reign of Elizabeth it was part of a gentleman's education to be able to read at sight the music of any song which might be presented to him. Among the subscribers to some of Handel's operas, which were published by subscription, may be found the Apollo Society at Windsor; the Musical Society at Oxford; the Ladies' Society at Lincoln; the Salisbury Society of Music; the Musical Society at Exeter; and at London, the Philharmonic Club; the Philharmonic Society; the Monday Night Musical Society; the Wednesday Musical Society; the Society of Music, at the Castle, in Paternoster Row; the Crown and Anchor Musical Society; the St. Cecilia Society. Mr. Townsend enumerates the following societies as existing in Dublin in 1741, the year in which Handel went there:—The Charitable Musical Society in Fishshamble Street; the Charitable and Musical Society in Vicars Street; the Charitable Musical Society on College Green; the Charitable Musical Society in Crown Street; the Musical Society in Warburgh Street; the Academy of Music, and the Philharmonic Society. The name of this last seems to indicate that it occupied itself more particularly with instrumental music. The Dublin journals of the same period make mention of similar societies at Cork, at Drogheda, and other places. Their names prove at the same time their noble purpose; for nearly all were destined to succour some particular misfortune.

The England of to-day has not degenerated from this brilliant past. She can number more musical societies than we know of elsewhere. There are—The Sacred Harmonic Society; The

London Sacred Harmonic Society; The Union Harmonic Society; The Hullah Society; The Cecilian Society, whose existence dates since 1785; the Amateur Musical Society, directed by Mr. Henry Leslie; The Society of British Musicians; The Madrigal Society; the Bach Society, whose object is to reproduce and popularize the works of the great man whose name it has assumed, &c. All these societies, with orchestras of from 200 to 600 members, meet every year from twelve to twenty times, and find a public willing to support them. Their choruses are composed of amateurs and professional singers. The Philharmonic Society of London, founded in 1813, served as a model to that celebrated French *Société des Concerts du Conservatoire,* which only dates from 1827. It was the Philharmonic Society which purchased the *Choral Symphony* of Beethoven, and purchased this immortal work for one hundred guineas! Many of Haydn's delicious symphonies were composed in London, in 1790; and Haydn often observed that "it was England that had made him celebrated in Germany" (*Dictionary of Musicians.*) The New Philharmonic Society, organized only three years ago by Dr. Wilde; The Orchestral Union, conducted by a very able leader, Mr. Alfred Mellon;—give, each of them, twelve concerts yearly, in which grand symphonies are performed. The Quartett Society, and The Musical Union, which devote themselves religiously to the instrumental chamber music of Bocherini, Haydn, Pleyel, Mozart, Beethoven, Hummel, Onslow, &c., can also produce their existence for many years in proof that there is no lack of amateurs. All this is exclusive of the Opera Houses, Italian and English, and of two or three special concerts which occur every day during those three months which are called "the season." That this is no exaggeration, may be proved by the advertisements of a single day of "the season." The list is really curious; for, so far from having collected it with difficulty, it has been taken bodily from the *Times* of Monday, the 14th of May, 1855:—

SACRED HARMONIC SOCIETY, Exeter Hall.—On the 25th of May will be repeated Haydn's *Creation.* The Orchestra, the most extensive available in Exeter Hall, will consist of nearly 700 performers.

LONDON SACRED HARMONIC SOCIETY, Exeter Hall.—May the 21st, Haydn's oratorio *Creation;* preceded by the Royal Birthday Cantata, with band and chorus of nearly 800 performers.

MUSICAL UNION.—To-morrow, May 15, at Willis's Rooms, Trio in E minor, pianoforte, &c., Spohr; Quartet No. 2 in G, Beethoven; &c.

ST. MARTIN'S HALL.—Mozart's *Requiem*, Beethoven's Choral Fantasia, &c., will be performed under the direction of Mr. John Hullah on Wednesday evening, May 16.

HARMONIC UNION, Hanover Square Rooms.—May 30, Mendelssohn's *Elijah.*

THE ENGLISH GLEE AND MADRIGAL UNION.—The Annual Series of Morning Concerts will take place at Willis's Rooms on 28th of May, and 4th and 11th of June.

PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY.—The Fifth Concert will take place at the Hanover Square Rooms this evening, the 14th instant. Programme:—Sinfonia in E flat, Mozart; Concerto pianoforte in E minor, Chopin; Sinfonia Pastorale, Beethoven; Overture, *Preciosa*, Weber.

NEW PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY, Exeter Hall.—On May 23, Symphony in B flat, Beethoven; &c.

MR. WILLY'S QUARTETT CONCERTS.—The Third and last Concert will take place, at St. Martin's Hall, on May 18.

MRS. JOHN MACFARREN will give her TWO ANNUAL MATINEES of PIANOFORTE MUSIC, at the Beethoven Rooms: the first on May 19.

MR. H. COOPER'S SECOND SOIREE of VIOLIN MUSIC will take place at 27 Queen Anne Street, on May 16.

MADAME CLARA NOVELLO will SING in IMMANUEL, on May 30, at St. Martin's Hall.

MADAME PUZZI'S ANNUAL GRAND MORNING CONCERT will take place on May 21, at Willis's Rooms.

MISS DOLBY and MR. LINDSAY SLOPER'S ANNUAL GRAND CONCERT will take place at St. Martin's Hall, on June 13.

CHARLES SALAMAN'S MUSICAL LECTURE and ENTERTAINMENT, illustrated by his own performances on the Virginalls and Harpsichord, &c., to-morrow, at the Marylebone Institution.

MR. BENEDICT'S ANNUAL GRAND MORNING CONCERT will take place on June 15, at the Royal Italian Opera.

SIGNOR MARRAS'S ANNUAL GRANDE MATINEE MUSICALE will take place on May 30.

SIGNOR and MADAME FERRARI'S ANNUAL CONCERT will take place at the Hanover Square Rooms, on May 16.

SAPPHO GLEE CLUB.—Southwark Literary Institution, Borough Road.—This evening a Concert will be given by the members of the above society, comprising glees, madrigals, &c.

Surely it will be admitted that the country in which so much music is to be found, in one single day, must be musical.

The societies which we have made mention of above occupy themselves with the highest and most difficult class of works. In 1854, the Bach Society (with an excellent musician, Mr. Sterndale Bennett, at its head) executed twice the *Passion* of the great fugueist of Leipsic; and the Sacred Harmonic Society

played twice, and with admirable development, about the commencement of last year, Beethoven's colossal Mass in D. The New Philharmonic Society has produced Cherubini's Mass in C. Where but in England can you hear these exalted productions? Where but in England can you depend sufficiently upon the public to risk the outlay of producing them? And what proves still more the elevated taste of the English is, that these works belong to the sacred music of the Romish Church, of that Popish religion which the majority of them dislike; in deference to which feeling Cherubini's Mass is called a "Grand Choral Work," and Beethoven's is advertised as "Beethoven's Service."

We may go so far as to say that the English have a passion for music; and this is all the more striking because, in spite of the facility with which they become infatuated, they are, after their American descendants, the people of all others who have the least enthusiasm. A gentleman met Haydn in the middle of the street, stopped him, stood opposite to him for some time, examined him, and said "You are a great man!" having said which he passed on (*Life of Haydn*, by Stendahl). This is not a French enthusiasm, but it is enthusiasm nevertheless; and music has occasionally inspired the English to manifestations quite French or Italian. A beautiful lady, carried beyond herself by a cavatina by Farinelli, rose up and cried out, "There is but one God and one Farinelli!" (Hawkins, page 887.)

The English have always sung, and still sing, much more than is generally imagined on the Continent. There belong to this country several collections of from one to six volumes in octavo, in quarto, and in folio, consisting of songs and ballads. It is something alarming to see. The *British Musical Miscellany*, published from 1735 to 1737, would be alone enough to turn the head of the most fanatical of Italian melomaniacs. It contains not less than nine hundred pages in quarto, closely covered with music, which howls uproariously the pleasures of Bacchus, and sighs out the amours of an innumerable band of Phillises, Chloes, Nancies, Damons, and Corydons. To speak the truth, the English even abuse music; they seem unable to do anything without it, and mix it up with everything less discreetly than beseems so delicate

an art. If you go to the annual floral exhibitions you are deafened by the red-coated bands of such and such a regiment blazing away in all the pride of brass; if you go to a panorama, or to an exhibition of Turkish costumes, or to hear Mr. Gordon Cumming, the lion-slayer, recounting his exploits, or to a wax-work, everywhere you find a gentleman who pianofies away in a corner, with his nose in the air. Even the Crystal Palace has a permanent orchestra.

"Aimez vous la muscade? On en a mis partout."—*Boileau.*

It is also a fact worthy of notice, as proving this extensive and popular taste for music, that at the Middlesex Sessions held in October, 1856, out of 100 applications made to the magistrates for licenses to play music (without dancing), fifty-one were granted, and these were in addition to the old list of 305 licenses which, with one or two exceptions, were renewed. If we consider the licenses granted by the magistrates of the City of London and for the County of Surrey, it is certainly not too much to say that there are from five to six hundred places for the performance of music alone (without dancing) in the metropolis. What other capital in the world can boast of a similar fact?

In fact, not only is England a more musical country than is generally supposed, but it is a country in which music has been cultivated to a very high pitch for a long time past. To this is due the idea of those great musical reunions called Festivals. At the Commemoration of Handel, in 1784, was assembled, *for the first time in the world*, an orchestra of 526 artists, singers and instrumentalists.

In the present century, when the spirit of association communicates to everything colossal proportions, it was reserved for England alone to surpass herself. That which took place at the opening of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham on the 10th of June, 1854, will doubtless be recorded. Upon that occasion Great Britain not only showed that she could create the most magnificent utilitarian institution of the nineteenth century, but also that she could arrange a musical spectacle upon unparalleled proportions. Three hundred and eighty-seven instrumentalists and twelve hundred and forty-eight choral singers, organized by

the Sacred Harmonic Society, executed remarkably well, after a single rehearsal, "God Save the Queen," the Hundredth Psalm, and the Hallelujah Chorus of *The Messiah*. Although almost everybody in England knows those three pieces by heart, it is none the less extraordinary that such a mass as sixteen hundred and thirty-five performers could be brought to execute them well together after a single rehearsal. The next Handelian Festival announced for the month of June, 1857, will number two thousand five hundred performers! The entire musical arrangements also are undertaken by the Sacred Harmonic Society, whose ordinary orchestra of seven hundred performers will be the nucleus of this colossal display. It is a new title for this Society to the esteem of all friends of art. These things appear to indicate not so much an accidental increase as a progressive law, the result of scientific labour in connection with the extension of buildings; for it will remain, as an honourable fact, in the musical history of England, that—

In 1784 there were		526	artists brought together.
In 1791	,,	1068	,,
In 1854	,,	1635	,,
In 1857	,,	2500	,,

But it is not in London only that music is thus cultivated. Every year there are in the provinces two or three festivals, for each of which the locality in which it takes place pays not less than three or four thousand pounds sterling. There is not one town of any importance in the kingdom that has not a building more or less specially destined for these feasts of art. The Music Hall at Manchester is one of the finest modern edifices in this country, and will contain 4000 persons; the concert rooms in St. George's Hall at Liverpool, the Philharmonic Hall in the same town, and the Music Hall at Bradford, are admirably adapted for great musical displays. In 1854 I attended a festival at Norwich, given, according to custom, for the benefit of the charitable institutions of the county. The artists who executed the pieces, under the direction of that able conductor, M. Benedict, were three hundred in number. The receipts of the

five concerts amounted to £4000. A perusal of the programme will serve to give some notion of the style of music which, even in the provinces, is considered most likely to attract a crowd: Rossini's *Stabat Mater;* Handel's *Acis and Galatea* and *Messiah;* the overture to *Leonora*, the *Symphony in A flat*, and the *Grand Mass in C* by Beethoven; Haydn's *Creation;* several *morceaux* from Mozart and Weber, and selections from Guglielmi, Festa, Stradella, and Cherubini, &c. About the same period Manchester and Gloucester had festivals of quite as high an order.

Last year, in the month of September, the Birmingham Festival, with M. Costa at its head, held seven meetings, and collected £11,537 from 13,038 auditors. Extraordinary as they may appear, these figures are authentic. In this town, which seems to be entirely devoted to manufactures, where you can see no other colonnades but the chimneys of factories and steam-engines, where the sun can scarcely penetrate the black canopy of smoke—these great solemnities are always performed with equal success. In 1852 the sum collected was £10,638. It would be puerile to cite a more extraordinary proof of the power of music than these great inroads upon the purse of a community. At the same time it should be recorded that in these festivals the neighbourhood always supplies amateurs capable of taking part in the chorus and the orchestra, and everywhere there are critics who really understand the science, and who criticize the performances in the public journals. And so interested is all England in these matters, that the principal London journals usually give some account of these musical doings in the provinces.

The English press undoubtedly puts forward strange opinions upon occasions: as, for example, we are told that Haydn's *Creation* is "weak and small!!" (see the *Times* of the 11th of December, 1855); that "the music allotted to the soprano in the *Elijah* is of a far deeper meaning and a far loftier beauty than anything Haydn ever imagined" (*Times* of December 18). But apart from these eccentricities (and where is it that there are no incendiaries for the Temple of Ephesus?), it is certain

that musical criticism in England is more serious, and, above all, more learned than the French.

There is another proof that England loves music to be derived from the great number of books published upon that art, and the high prices which are set upon them. The four volumes of Dr. Burney cannot be purchased for less than £4; a second edition of the five volumes quarto, by Hawkins, has been published by Mr. Novello; and, nevertheless, there are at least five or six more *Histories of Music* by different authors. If, on the other hand, it is urged that a portion of the English public runs after bad music—and we are reminded of those concerts at which the pit, transformed into an open arena, is filled with men who walk about, hat on head, and conversing with women—we reply that these facts prove nothing. Classical music is a thing so delicate, so beyond all other, that it requires a certain culture to appreciate it. Among people of the highest civilization, it is appreciated only by those who are endowed with artistic taste, and necessarily the mass of the population acquires it last; but even in this respect England appears to me to be the most advanced. Nowhere do the masses get better music, which is as much as to say that nowhere are the masses more enlightened with respect to music. At Mr. Hullah's concerts, where the prices of admission are one and two shillings, only the highest class of works is performed, such as the *Requiem* of Mozart, the *Choral Symphony* of Beethoven, and Handel's Oratorios; and these great works are performed with the greatest taste and exactness. In the programme of a concert given at Canterbury, where the prices were the same, we find the names of Handel, Haydn, and Mozart. In what other country in the world can shillings purchase such exquisite delicacies? In France, as in Germany, the happiness of listening to a symphony is a sort of privilege reserved exclusively for the rich. The history of the art must assign to England the honour and the merit of having brought that noble and beneficent pleasure within reach of the poor. And here let us do honour to a modest, but really useful man, Mr. Hullah. Music is not only a pleasure, but it is one of the most healthy kinds of nourish-

ment for the mind. Consult the criminal statistics, and it is extraordinary how small a number of musicians are to be found there. Of all the professions, it is incontestably this which furnishes the smallest number of recruits to the prisons and the hulks, and the smallest number of victims to the scaffold. Everything, therefore, which renders good music more attainable to those who are destitute of wealth is a real moral service to society, and the efforts of Mr. Hullah in this direction deserve the greatest respect.

But what we have said proves not only the good direction given to music, but also the progress of the people. These *chefs-d'œuvre,* requiring a numerous and able orchestra, necessitate great expenses; and therefore the speculator who risks his money upon such undertakings must have certain confidence in the taste and spirit of the million.

By dint of searching among the remotest villages of the Germanic Confederation, a man may be found who does not know the name of Mozart; and perhaps it would not be impossible to meet in the Pontine Marshes with a goatherd who never heard of Rossini; but the Englishman does not exist who is not familiar with the name of Handel. The admiration felt here for him is really universal; his name has certainly penetrated deeper into the population than those of his rivals in their own countries. Far more English have heard *The Messiah* than Germans the *Don Juan* or the *Symphony in D,* or Italians *Il Barbiere.*

France is very far indeed from having made equal progress. Classical music is there confined to a very restricted circle; and the works of the great masters are forgotten, or at least neglected, with the exception of the symphonies and such music as may be connected with theatres. After the death of the austere Baillot, there have been none of those instrumental quatuors and quintettes, which form one of the most exquisitely beautiful branches of the art. An amateur has given, in a too short series of concerts, some music of Palestrina, Orlando Lassus, Pergolesi, Allegri, &c.; but this laudable experiment did not spread beyond the walls of a private house. As for oratorios, nothing

but the *Creation* has been heard since the Directory, with the exception of *Judas Macchabæus* and *The Messiah*, feebly executed three or four times before an audience of subscribers by a society of amateurs. France, it must be confessed, is, in this respect, unworthy of herself; she has done nothing to emulate the annual festivals of Germany and England, where imposing choral and instrumental masses are used to render fitly the epic poems of music; and let us add, that in England they are executed in the highest style of excellence. The choruses, consisting of from three to four hundred voices, are good, when they are well conducted; the orchestras are powerful; and for the solo parts they have Mesdames Clara Novello, Lockey, and Dolby, and Messrs. Sims Reeves and Lockey, all genuine artists, and all natives of England. Ever since the now remote era in which the admirable Garcia and Pelligrini, Mesdames Pasta and Piesaroni flourished, I have heard all the singers who have been celebrated; and, without asserting that Madame Clara Novello and Mr. Sims Reeves are equal to the most illustrious of these, I am not afraid to say that they are only second to them. Neither do I hesitate to state that whoever has not yet heard an oratorio executed in London, or at one of the provincial festivals, has not tasted the full amount of delight which music is able to give him.

Thus, then, it seems that the bad reputation which England has on the Continent as a musical nation arises from a prejudice; and it may be that these few words will do something towards dissipating it—not because I have the vanity to suppose that my voice is powerful, nor because I have stated anything particularly new, but because I have stated material and undoubted facts. Nor have I done this to flatter England (for I have lost any such desire), but simply to record the truth.

On the other hand, the English entertain some prejudices with respect to the French. Out of contempt for French music, none of the charming works of Monsigny, Catel, Grétry, Daleyrac, Mehul, Boieldieu, or Berton has appeared upon an English stage for nearly a century. M. Halevy's *Juive* has indeed been given, but without (what is generally considered to be of some

importance in an opera) the music. *Richard Cœur de Lion,* when translated, could win no admirers. Burney himself, in spite of his excellent taste and his fine judgment, has not escaped that patriotic prejudice. His enthusiasm for Glück is very moderate, because his genius was "Frenchified." "Glück's music is so truly dramatic," says he, "that the airs and scenes which have the greatest effect upon the stage are *cold and rude* in a concert!! The situation, context, and interest gradually excited in an audience, gave them force and energy." He reproaches Piccini and Sacchini with having had "a complaisance for the ancient musical taste of France" in their operas for our stage. To his eyes, Grétry himself, "who brought with him to Paris all the taste of Italy, in compliance with the French language, has been frequently obliged to *sacrifice it,* in order to please his judges, and he has, at least, improved our taste as much as we have *corrupted* his" (page 624). After which he adds, in the most serious manner: "If good music and performance are ever heartily felt in France, it must be progressively; a totally different style of singing must be adopted; otherwise it will be in vain for the greatest composers, with the assistance of the best lyric poets in the universe, to attempt the reformation." Burney did not perceive that all his criticisms against the French school actually prove the individuality of that school; that it has a style, which must be something, after all, if, "in spite of the language," that style has produced Glück's *Armide,* Piccini's *Didon,* Sacchini's *Œdipe à Colonne,* Salieri's *Tarare,* Spontini's *La Vestale,* Rossini's *Guillaume Tell,* Monsigny's *Le Déserteur,* Champein's *La Mélomanie,* Grétry's *Zémire et Azor,* Lesueur's *La Caverne,* Catel's *L'Auberge de Bagnères,* Steibelt's *Romeo et Juliette,* Nicolo's *Cendrillon,* Cherubini's *Les Deux Journées,* Mehul's *Joseph,* Berton's *Montano et Stephani,* Daleyrac's *Maison à Vendre,* Della Maria's *Le Prisonnier,* Devienne's *Les Visitandines,* Boieldieu's *Ma Tante Aurore,* Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable,* Herold's *Le Pré aux Clercs,* Halévy's *La Juive,* in fact, all the old *répertoire* of the French *Opéra Comique,* in which Mehul shines conspicuous, with his style so vigorous, so strong, so eminently French. The best judges declare

that it cannot be denied that the music of Rameau is a creation, that that of Philidor, the author of *Le Sorcier* and the *Maréchal*, is remarkable for the novelty of its forms, and they speak of Gossec as a composer of the first order. Is it not also to the French school that the following singers belong? Garat, Martin, Laïs, the Nourrits (father and son), M^me^ Branchu, M^me^ Rigaut, M^me^ Damoreau, M. del Sarte, M. Ponchard, and, finally, the greatest of all modern singers, M. Duprez.

Since I have adventured upon this ground, let it be added that France has not taken up a position in musical history only to-day. From the fourteenth century to the end of the sixteenth, the French and the Flemish were the sole cultivators of that divine art. At that time Italy produced nothing, and only performed the works of the composers of France and Flanders. In the catalogue of Petrucci, the inventor of music printing (at Venice, 1502), nothing but French and Flemish masses are to be found. It is also a French composer, Claude Goudimel, who had the honour of being Palestrina's master. The Pope's chapels were at that time served only by French and Flemish singers. The old French school began to decline under Henri Quatre, and expired in the reign of Louis XIII., because Richelieu was not fond of music; but it flourished anew after Louis XIV. attained his majority, and the *Opéra Français* was founded in 1671.[1] Although this was inspired at first by Italian taste, it quickly assumed its own colours, and we have already seen what it produced. It should not be forgotten that Gluck and the Italians who have written for the French, have written in the

[1] In 1645, Mazarin brought over at great expense an Italian Company, which sang, among other things, Monteverde's *Orfeo;* but the Parisians had no taste for such an amusement, and the Italian Company departed. Mazarin returned to the charge in 1660, and gave Italian operas again for the fêtes in honour of Louis the Fourteenth's marriage. This music, which was still nothing better than a rythmical declamation, was decidedly displeasing to the French, who were accustomed to the easy and agreeable melody of their own songs, and the Italians were once more obliged to go. But these performances gave to Cambère, organist to the Church of St. Honoré, the idea of imitating them in a French pastoral. The scheme was successful, and procured for him a privilege to establish a French opera. The first work which was represented there in 1761 was called *Pomone.* Lully, having risen into favour with Louis XIV., supplanted Cambère in this privilege, and organized the opera completely with Quinault.

French style. Rossini himself, in spite of his characteristic individuality, has not escaped that powerful influence. No one will say that the wonderful author of *Il Barbiere* and the profound author of *Guillaume Tell* are not two different kinds of genius in the same man. Choron, in spite of his Italiomania, confesses that Lully, the creator of the French Opera, formed a style for himself—"composed as much French as Italian melody."[1] But even this opinion reflected some of his prejudices; for Lully was brought to France in 1647, when only fourteen years old, and his style is thoroughly French. But this would carry the discussion to too great a length for my present purpose, and therefore I will here conclude; hoping, for the future, that the two countries will henceforth render each other more justice in matters appertaining to music.

HANDEL'S HOUSE.

"*Handel's dwelling was in Brook Street.*"—Page 227.

With reference to the house in Brook Street which was inhabited by Handel, I am indebted to Mr. Robert Lonsdale for the following document. It proves that Handel was established there at any rate in 1725 (perhaps sooner, but that cannot be verified), and that he remained there until his death:—

"St. George's, Hanover Square, Board Room,
Mount Street, 11th March, 1857.

"Dear Sir,—This parish was created and made a separate and distinct parish from St. Martin-in-the-Fields in 1725, and the rate-books being carefully preserved, I have searched them from the beginning, and find on the first book for the year 1725 made for the poor-rate, that George Frederick Handel, Esq., was rated at £35 per annum for a house in Brook Street, being then the fourth house rated in that street; the house before his was

[1] *Sommaire de l'Histoire de la Musique*, in the *Dictionnaire des Musiciens*.

rated in the name of Catherine Johnston, and the house next following to his was rated to John Mountain, Esq. On following up the search, I find that Mr. Handel continued rated for the same house up to the year 1759 inclusive, his two neighbours being then Sarah Hunt instead of Catherine Johnston, and Lord Ducie Morton instead of John Mountain, Esq. In the year 1760, John Duburk was rated for the fourth house instead of G. F. Handel.

"I regret I can give you no further information in reference to your interesting inquiries after the great man; and I remain, dear Sir, &c.,

"T. R. CHAPPELL, Vestry Clerk.

"To R. Lonsdale, Esq."

Handel's servant, John Duburk, who, as we have already seen, purchased Handel's furniture, therefore became the tenant of the house, which he doubtless converted into a lodging-house, in the expectation that the memory of his master would attract visitors.

"HOW BEAUTIFUL."

"... *It is probably one of those arbitrary transpositions which spoil Arnold's edition.*"—Page 255, last line of the note.

This is an error, for which an apology is due. In looking more carefully into the matter, I find that the version of "How beautiful," in C minor, as given by Arnold, is added by Smith at the end of his copy of *The Messiah*, belonging to the Lennard collection. There is also to be found in this appendix the air, "He shall feed his flock," written for two voices; although in the body of the copy he has only given it for a single voice, as all the other copies have it, as well as the original MS. Whatever confidence Smith may deserve, it is permitted to doubt that his appendix to *The Messiah* in the Lennard collec-

tion had the approbation of Handel. It has been seen (at page 215) that the excellent Smith did not always respect the heritage of his master as much as could be desired.

PRICES OF PLACES.

"*When we see him raising the price of his places beyond eight shillings* (*which was the regular price*)."—Page 312.

Since the above has been printed, I have discovered that it is erroneous. Handel, from the very commencement of his management to the end of his life, always charged his places at the same price:—"Pit and boxes to be put together, at half a guinea each; first gallery, 5*s.*; second gallery, 3*s.* 6*d.*," whether for operas or oratorios, and whether at the Haymarket, at Covent Garden, or at Lincoln's Inn Fields. These very high terms are stereotyped in all his advertisements. The *London Daily Post* of the 20th of June, 1737, says again:—"Pit and boxes (or front boxes) to be put together;" an announcement which is explained by the following, which may frequently be found:—"The pit will be floor'd over and laid to the boxes" (*London Daily Post*, 23rd June, 1737). We find this in all the advertisements of Handel, whether at the Haymarket or at Covent Garden, at the representations of operas, as well as at the performances of oratorios. The same thing is to be noticed in the advertisements of the theatre which was supported by the nobility, and we must conclude that the representation of Italian operas and oratorios had always a certain solemnity, and that they took away from persons of slender means the five shilling pit in order to get half a guinea, by raising it to a level with the boxes. The frequenters of the pit were therefore obliged to take refuge in the galleries.

THE "MAGNIFICAT" IN ISRAEL.

"*And Israel in Egypt!*"—Page 388.

Whilst this book was being printed, a discussion has arisen respecting Handel's borrowings for his *Magnificat*, borrowings which have been already mentioned at page 24. I had intended to reserve the treatment of this question for the "Catalogue of Works," where it would be more naturally in its place; but since it has arisen, it may perhaps be interesting to throw some light upon it here. In an analytical handbook of *Israel in Egypt*, which the Sacred Harmonic Society has recently published, mention is made of a MS. *Magnificat*, which is in the rich library of the Society, and which is inscribed, "Magnificat del R^d. Sig^r. Erba." "This superscription," says the handbook, "signifies that the copy has belonged to a Sig^r. Erba, since there is the following evidence of the composition being Handel's: in the copy of *Israel in Egypt*, which Handel used to conduct, all the pieces taken from this work are marked in pencil '*Mag.*,' from which it may be inferred that at some early period these pieces were identified." Whereupon, the *Athenæum* of the 4th of April asks—"Identified by whom? And with what? With Erba or with Handel? Less conclusive evidence or impression (for evidence here is none) could not be. There was an Italian composer of the name of Erba living at Rome towards the year 1730. In truth, we suspect that the giant was so rich, as to feel himself entitled to steal from this side or from the other."

There is a way to remove these doubts in a positive manner, which I feel sure will be acceptable to everybody. The *Magnificat* is certainly Handel's; the MS., entirely written by himself, is bound up in a quarto volume, improperly entitled "Sketches," in the collection at Buckingham Palace. The last pages, in which the date was doubtless to be found, are unfortunately lost; but beside its Latin text (which assigns it to the Italian period of the master's works), it is written upon very thick paper, like all his MSS. which were made in Italy. This *Magnificat* probably belongs to the same epoch as the *Dixit Dominus*,

signed "S. D. G.[1]—G. F. Hendel, 1707. 4 d'Aprile. Roma;" and the *Laudate Pueri*, signed "S. D. G.—G. F. H., il 8 Julij, 1707. Roma." Handel began early, as we see, to mix up a variety of languages, both in writing and speaking. In the midst of this little Italian memorandum the name of the month is in German, "Julij." The copy which the Sacred Harmonic Society possesses (which is, moreover, very incorrect) was not even made in Italy; it is written upon paper bearing in the water-mark "I. Whatman"—a mark frequently found in the paper used by Handel and Smith when in London. There is therefore no doubt that this copy was made in England.

As for the "Sig^r. Erba," to whom this copy may have belonged, I do not know whether the learned critic of the *Athenæum* has any special information about him, but according to the Musical Dictionaries of M. Fétis and of Choron, he was not a composer, *but a violin-player*. M. Fétis says that he was a Milanese, and Choron calls him a Roman; neither of them consecrate more than five lines to him, and all the composition they give him is "10 sonate da camera a violino solo e basso. Op. 1. Amsterdam, 1736." (Ten chamber sonatas for a solo violin and a bass.) The *Dictionary of Musicians* furnishes no further account of him, and the *Musical Biography* does not even mention his name. At any rate, it still remains to be ascertained whether the "Sig^r. Erba" of the copy is the Roman musician. The "R^d." which is prefixed to his name gives him a certain air of Reverend, which does not usually belong to a violinist.

Out of the eleven movements of which the *Magnificat* is composed, Mr. Lacy has ascertained that Handel employed six for *Israel in Egypt*—

"Magnificat anima mea," has supplied the chorus, "He is my God."
"Et exultavit,' „ the duet, "The Lord is my strength."
"Quia respexit humilitatem," „ the two choruses, "Thy depths have covered them," and "Thy right hand." (Handel could surely write two essays upon the same subject.)
"Fecit potentiam in brachio suo," „ the chorus, "Thou sentest for the wrath."
"Esurientes implecit bonis," „ the duet, "Thou in thy mercy."
"Sicut erat in principio," „ the chorus, "The earth swallowed them."

[1] *Soli Deo Gloria* (Glory be to God alone).

It should be added, that the tenth movement, "Sicut locutus est," has furnished the chorus in *Susannah*, "Yet his bolt;" and finally, that in the admirable duet "The Lord is a man of war," phrases of the fourth movement of the *Magnificat*, "Quia fecit mihi magna," are to be found.

It is evident that if the *Magnificat* was by an Erba, the author of *Israel* would have somewhat abused the right which giants arrogate to themselves of spoiling poor little people. Handel more than once had recourse to his Latin Catholic music, which remained unpublished, for the use of his great English works. As a proof, it need only be observed that the subject of the introduction to his *Utrecht Jubilate* is taken from the first movement of his *Laudate Pueri*. "Hope, a pure and lasting treasure," an air which he intercalated into *Israel*, on the revival of that oratorio in 1756, is taken from one of his two sacred Latin motets, "Dulcis amor, Jesu caro."

Until the publication of the more detailed "Catalogue," the following list will probably be interesting to the reader:—

LIST OF MUSIC SACRED, SECULAR, AND INSTRUMENTAL

COMPOSED BY GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL.

*An asterisk * marks such as are as yet unpublished; and works of which the MSS. are lost are marked thus †.*

Sacred Music.

2 ITALIAN ORATORIOS.

Il Trionfo del Tempo e del disinganno.*
Resurreczione.

1 GERMAN ORATORIO.

Passion.*

19 ENGLISH ORATORIOS.

Esther.	Samson.	Alexander Bælus.
Deborah.	Joseph.	Joshua.
Athalia.	Hercules.	Solomon.
Saul.	Belshazzar.	Susannah.
Israel in Egypt.	Occasional Oratorio.	Theodora.
Messiah.	Judas Macchabæus.	Jephtha.

Triumph of Time and Truth.

5 TE DEUMS.

Utrecht.	Queen Caroline's.
Chandos (two).	Dettingen.

7 PSALMS.

Dixit Dominus and Gloria.*	Utrecht Jubilate.
Laudate et Gloria.*	Hanover Psalm.
Laudate et Gloria.*	Epiphany Psalm.
Nisi Dominus.*	

Besides which there is an unpublished reduction of the Utrecht Jubilate.

20 ANTHEMS.

12 Chandos.	1 Wedding.	1 Dettingen.
4 Coronation.	1 Funeral.	1 Foundling Hospital.*

Besides the Reduction of Four of the Chandos Anthems for the use of the Chapels Royal.*

2 MOTETS.

"Intret in."* | "Silete, silete."*

3 HYMNS.

The Invitation. | Desiring to love. | On the Resurrection.

MISCELLANEOUS.

"Gloria."* | "Kyrie."* | "Magnificat."*

Secular Music.

4 GERMAN OPERAS.

Almira.* | Nero.† | Daphne.† | Florinda.†

39 ITALIAN OPERAS.[1]

Roderigo.*	Tamerlane.	Orlando.
Agrippina.	Rodelinda.	Arianna.
Silla.*	Scipio.	Ariodante.
Rinaldo.	Alessandro.	Alcina.
Pastor Fido.	Admeto.	Atalanta.
Teseo.	Ricardo 1°.	Giustino.
Amadis.*	Siroe.	Arminio.
Radamisto.	Tolomeo.	Berenice.
Muzio Scævola.	Lothario.	Faramondo.
Floridante.	Parthenope.	Serse.
Ottone.	Poro.	Jupiter in Argos.*
Flavio.	Ezio.	Imeneo.
Giulio Cesare.	Sosarme.	Deidamia.

This list does not include the pasticcios Lucio Vero and Alessandro Severo, which do not contain a single original note.

Besides there are fragments of:—

Flavio Olibrio, an abandoned opera.*	Titus, an abandoned opera.*
Five pieces and the overture introduced into the pasticcio of Orestes.*	The overture to Alessandro Severo, and fragments of an unnamed opera.*

1 ENGLISH OPERA.

Alcestes (called by Arnold Alcides).

ITALIAN SERENATAS.

Aci, Galattea e Polifemo.*
Thirteen Airs and Choruses for Parnasso in Festa.*

[1] With the exception of Agrippina, Teseo, Giulio Cesare, and Sosarme, the operas are published in such an incomplete manner, that they may be almost considered as unpublished. In some cases there is nothing but a book of *Favourite Songs*.

2 ENGLISH SERENATAS.

Acis and Galatea. | Semele.

1 ENGLISH INTERLUDE.

Choice of Hercules.

1 ITALIAN INTERMEDE.

Terpsichore.*

4 ODES.

On Queen Anne's Birthday.
Dryden's Ode on St. Cecilia's Day.
Alexander's Feast.
L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderata.

2 CHAMBER TRIOS.

24 CHAMBER DUETS.

And about 150 CANTATAS.*

Instrumental.

6 Trios Sonatas.†
Water Music.
Suites de Pieces pour le Clavecin.
Second Series of *ditto*.
4 Minuets and a March for the harpsichord.
Alchymist Music.
12 Solos, Opera 1ª.
6 Sonatas or Trios, Opera 2ª.
4 Etudes pour Clavecin.
Lessons for the Harpsichord.
6 Hautbois Concertos, Opera 3ª.
6 Fugues for the Organ.
6 Concertos for the Organ (first set), with instrumental parts, Opera 4ª.
Concertante.
7 Sonatas or Trios, Opera 5ª.
12 Grand Concertos, Opera 6ª.
Hornpipe.*
6 Organ Concertos, without instrumental parts (second set).
Forest Music.
Fireworks Music.
2 Organ Concertos, with instrumental part.
6 Organ Concertos (third set), with instrumental parts, Opera 7ª.
3 Organ Concertos, with instrumental parts.
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